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DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS—THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1776.

AGREEABLY to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had agreed to a declaration, which they desired him to report. (The committee consisted of Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams, Sherman, and R. R. Livingston.)

The Declaration being read, was agreed to, as follows:

A DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do.

And, for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

Rhode Island.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York.

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey.

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

Massachusetts Bay.

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Delaware.

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

Maryland.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton.

Virginia.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JUN.
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON,

North Carolina.

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN,

South Carolina.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, JUN,
THOMAS LYNCH, JUN.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such vacan[illegible]

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SEC. 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its

members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SEC. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States: If he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determind by Yeas and Nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-

thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have Power—

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SEC. 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The Executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the

Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by Ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one vote; A Quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by Ballot the Vice-President.*]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

* This clause has been superseded and annulled by the 12th Amendment.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. 2. The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the Executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of Impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all Civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the Supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in Law and

Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers, and Consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of Impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but, no Attainder of Treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SEC. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress;—*Provided*, that no Amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States, under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient

for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In Witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEO. WASHINGTON,
Presidt and Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire.
JOHN LANGDON, NICHOLAS GILMAN.

Massachusetts.
NATHANIEL GORHAM, RUFUS KING.

Connecticut.
WM. SAML. JOHNSON, ROGER SHERMAN.

New York.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

New Jersey.
WIL: LIVINGSTON, DAVID BREARLEY,
WM. PATERSON, JONA. DAYTON.

Pennsylvania.
B. FRANKLIN, THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBT. MORRIS, GEO: CLYMER,
THO: FITZSIMONS, JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON, GOUV: MORRIS.

Delaware.
GEO: READ, GUNNING BEDFORD, JUN'R.
JOHN DICKINSON, RICHARD BASSETT,
JACO: BROOM.

Maryland.
JAMES M'HENRY, DAN: OF ST. THOS. JENIFER.
DANL. CARROLL.

Virginia.
JOHN BLAIR, JAMES MADISON, JR.

North Carolina.
WM. BLOUNT, RICH'D DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HU. WILLIAMSON.

South Carolina.
J. RUTLEDGE, CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.
CHARLES PINCKNEY, PIERCE BUTLER.

Georgia.
WILLIAM FEW, ABR. BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*

ARTICLES,

IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

(ARTICLE I.)

CONGRESS shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

(ARTICLE II.)

A well-regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

(ARTICLE III.)

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

(ARTICLE IV.)

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

(ARTICLE V.)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

(ARTICLE VI.)

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against

him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

(ARTICLE VII.)

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

(ARTICLE VIII.)

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

(ARTICLE IX.)

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

(ARTICLE X.)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

(ARTICLE XI.)

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

(ARTICLE XII.)

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballot the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate:—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States,

and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

THE Constitution was adopted on the 17th September, 1787, by the Convention appointed in pursuance of the Resolution of the Congress of the Confederation, of the 21st February, 1787, and ratified by the Conventions of the several States, as follows:

By Convention of		Delaware,	7th December, 1787.
"	"	Pennsylvania,	12th December, 1787.
"	"	New Jersey,	18th December, 1787.
"	"	Georgia,	2d January, 1788.
"	"	Connecticut,	9th January, 1788.
"	"	Massachusetts,	6th February, 1788.
"	"	Maryland,	28th April, 1788.
"	"	South Carolina,	23d May, 1788.
"	"	New Hampshire,	21st June, 1788
"	"	Virginia,	26th June, 1788.
"	"	New York,	26th July, 1788
"	"	North Carolina,	21st November, 1789.
"	"	Rhode Island,	29th May, 1790

The first ten of the Amendments were proposed on the 25th September, 1789, and ratified by the constitutional number of States on the 15th December, 1791; the eleventh, on the 8th January, 1798; and the twelfth, on the 25th September, 1804.

WASHINGTON'S ADDRESSES.

THERE were not many occasions during his public career that Washington was called upon to exercise his abilities as a writer or an orator; but when such occasions did occur, he always acquitted himself with a degree of perspicuity and modesty which may be said to have been characteristic of himself alone. The addresses which follow mark, as it were, four distinct epochs in the history of this unexampled man:—the first, when he accepted the command of the armies by which our national independence was achieved; the second, when he surrendered his commission, after having driven the foes of freedom from his beloved country; the third, when he assumed the responsible duties of President, in which office his high qualities for civil government were as conspicuous as had been his military talents in the field; and fourth, when he resigned this great trust, and took leave of the people in his imperishable "Farewell Address," an inestimable legacy, which cannot be too frequently conned by every American who values his birthright.

WASHINGTON'S ELECTION AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

On the 15th of June, 1775, Washington was unanimously elected by Congress to "command all the Continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty," and when he appeared in his place the next day, the President of that body acquainted him with his election, in a well-timed address, "and requested he would accept of that employment;" to which Washington replied as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT: Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me, in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in the room, that I, this day, declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

"As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

WASHINGTON'S RESIGNATION OF HIS COMMISSION.

The War of the Revolution having terminated auspiciously, Washington took leave of his officers and army at New York, and repaired to Annapolis, Md., where Congress was then in session. On the 20th of December, 1783, he transmitted a letter to that body, apprising them of his arrival, with the intention of resigning his commission, and desiring to know whether it would be most agreeable to receive it in writing or at an audience. It was immediately resolved that a public entertainment be given him on the 22d, and that he be admitted to an audience on the 23d, at twelve o'clock. Accordingly he attended at that time, and, being seated, the President informed him that Congress were prepared to receive his communications. Whereupon he arose, and spoke as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT: The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence: a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which however was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

"The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

"While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

"I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

In accordance with previous arrangements, General Washington met Congress in New York on the 30th of April, 1789, for the purpose of being inaugurated as the first President of the United States. The oath of office having been administered by the Chancellor of the state of New York, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives the President delivered the following Inaugural Address:

"*Fellow-Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives:*

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary, as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health, to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpracticed in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country, with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

"Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe—who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and may

enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none, under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

"By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the President 'to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject, farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism, which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges that, as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire: since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness—between duty and advantage—between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards

the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

"Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for, I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will, therefore, be as brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that, since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding, with unparalleled unanimity, on a form of government for the security of their Union, and the advancement of their happiness, so his Divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of this government must depend."

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the Executive Government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence, in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness. but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed towards the organization and administration of the Government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes—perhaps still more in the eyes of others—has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me, more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that

if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be afforded to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice

of your real independence—the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest: here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth

and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must, of necessity, owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in UNION, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty; in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation, in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope, that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western: whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those

who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain, and that with Spain—which secure to them every thing they could desire in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all time, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems, is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of Government: but the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish Government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive to this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of

faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying, afterwards, the very engines which had lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed, little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes, in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads, at length, to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the

absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosities of one part against another; foments, occasionally, riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in Governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of Government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal, against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments, ancient and modern; some of them in our own country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular, wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free Governments are

destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can, at any time, yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in the courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular Government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised, which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace

and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection; either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts, through passion, what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation to another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interest of their own country, without odium; sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the art of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil, and even second, the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient Government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable

to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinions will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay, with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations; but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records, and other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest, for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error; I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free Government—the ever favorite object of my heart—and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 17*th September*, 1796.

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF 1850.

An Act to amend, and supplementary to, the Act entitled "An Act respecting Fugitives from Justice, and persons escaping from the Service of their Masters," approved Feburary 12, 1793.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the persons who have been, or may hereafter be, appointed Commissioners, in virtue of any Act of Congress, by the Circuit Courts of the United States, and who, in consequence of such appointment, are authorized to exercise the powers that any justice of the peace, or other magistrate of any of the United States, may exercise in respect to offenders for any crime or offence against the United States, by arresting, imprisoning, or bailing the same, under and by virtue of the thirty-third section of the act of the twenty-fourth of September, seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, entitled "An Act to establish the judicial courts of the United States," shall be, and are hereby, authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this Act.

SEC. 2. That the Superior Court of each organized territory of the United States shall have the same power to appoint Commissioners to take acknowledgments of bail and affidavits, and to take depositions of witnesses in civil causes, which is now possessed by the Circuit Court of the United States; and all Commissioners who shall hereafter be appointed for such purposes by the Superior Court of any organized territory of the United States, shall possess all the powers, and exercise all the duties, conferred by law upon the Commissioners appointed by the Circuit Courts of the United States for similar purposes, and shall moreover exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred by this Act.

SEC. 3. That the Circuit Courts of the United States, and the Superior Courts of each organized territory of the United States, shall from time to time enlarge the number of Commissioners with a view to afford reasonable facilities to reclaim fugitives from labor, and to the prompt discharge of the duties imposed by this Act.

SEC. 4. That the Commissioners above named shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the Judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, in their respective circuits and districts within the several States, and the Judges of the Superior Courts of the territories severally and collectively, in term-time and vacation; and shall grant certificates to such claimants, upon satisfactory proof being made, with authority to take and remove such fugitives from service or labor, under the restrictions herein contained, to the state or territory from which such persons may have escaped or fled.

SEC. 5. That it shall be the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under

the provisions of this act, when to them directed; and should any marshal or deputy marshal refuse to receive such warrant, or other process, when tendered, or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, to the use of such claimant, on the motion of such claimant, by the Circuit or District Court for the district of such marshal; and after arrest of such fugitive, by such marshal or his deputy, or whilst at any time in his custody, under the provisions of this act, should such fugitive escape, whether with or without the assent of such marshal or his deputy, such marshal shall be liable, on his official bond, to be prosecuted for the benefit of such claimant, for the full value of the service or labor of said fugitive in the state, territory, or district whence he escaped; and the better to enable said Commissioners, when thus appointed, to execute their duties faithfully and efficiently, in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States, and of this Act, they are hereby authorized and empowered, within their counties respectively, to appoint, in writing under their hands, any one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute all such warrants and other process as may be issued by them in the lawful performance of their respective duties; with authority to such Commissioners, or the persons to be appointed by them, to execute process as aforesaid, to summon and call to their aid the bystanders, or *posse comitatus* of the proper county, when necessary to insure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution referred to, in conformity with the provisions of this act; and all good citizens are commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required, as aforesaid, for that purpose; and said warrants shall run, and be executed by said officers, anywhere in the state within which they are issued.

SEC. 6. That when a person held to service or labor in any state or territory of the United States, has heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another state or territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her, or their agent or attorney, duly authorized by power of attorney, in writing acknowledged and certified under the seal of some legal officer or Court of the state or territory in which the same may be executed, may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from some one of the Courts, Judges, or Commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district, or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive from service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive where the same can be done without process, and by taking, or causing such person to be taken forthwith before such Court, Judge or Commissioner, whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the case of such claimant in a summary manner; and upon satisfactory proof being made, by deposition or affidavit, in writing, to be taken, and certified by such Court, Judge or Commissioner, or by other satisfactory testimony, duly taken and certified by some Court,

Magistrate, Justice of the Peace, or other legal officer authorized to administer an oath and take depositions under the laws of the state or territory from which such person owing service or labor may have escaped, with a certificate of such magistracy, or other authority as aforesaid, with the seal of the proper Court or officer thereto attached, which seal shall be sufficient to establish the competency of the proof, and with proof, also by affidavit, of the identity of the person whose service or labor is claimed to be due as aforesaid, that the person so arrested does in fact owe service or labor to the person or persons claiming him or her, in the state or territory from which such fugitive may have escaped as aforesaid, and that said person escaped, to make out and deliver to said claimant, his or her agent or attorney, a certificate setting forth the substantial facts as to the service or labor due from such fugitive to the claimant, and of his or her escape from the state or territory in which such service or labor was due to the state or territory in which he or she was arrested, with authority to such claimant, or his or her agent or attorney, to use such reasonable force and restraint as may be necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take and remove such fugitive person back to the state or territory whence he or she may have escaped as aforesaid. In no trial or hearing under this Act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence; and the certificates in this and the first [fourth] section mentioned, shall be conclusive of the right of the person or persons in whose favor granted, to remove such fugitive to the state or territory from which he escaped, and shall prevent all molestation of such person or persons by any process issued by any Court, Judge, Magistrate, or other person whomsoever.

SEC. 7. That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid, or shall rescue or attempt to rescue such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or other person or persons lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested pursuant to the authority herein given and declared, or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment and conviction before the District Court of the United States, for the district in which such offence may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized territories of the United States, and shall moreover forfeit and pay, by way of civil

damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct, the sum of one thousand dollars, for each fugitive so lost as aforesaid, to be recovered by action of debt in any of the District or Territorial Courts aforesaid, within whose jurisdiction the said offence may have been committed.

SEC. 8. That the marshals, their deputies, and the clerks of the said District and Territorial Courts, shall be paid for their services the like fees as may be allowed to them for similar services in other cases; and where such services are rendered exclusively in the arrest, custody, and delivery of the fugitive to the claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or where such supposed fugitive may be discharged out of custody for the want of sufficient proof as aforesaid, then such fees are to be paid in the whole by such claimant, his agent or attorney; and in all cases where the proceedings are before a Commissioner, he shall be entitled to a fee of ten dollars in full for his services in each case, upon the delivery of the said certificate to the claimant, his or her agent or attorney; or a fee of five dollars in cases where the proof shall not, in the opinion of such Commissioner, warrant such certificate and delivery, inclusive of all services incident to such arrest and examination, to be paid in either case by the claimant, his or her agent or attorney. The person or persons authorized to execute the process to be issued by such Commissioner for the arrest and detention of fugitives from service or labor as aforesaid, shall also be entitled to a fee of five dollars each, for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such Commissioner, as aforesaid, at the instance and request of such claimant, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such Commissioners for such other additional services as may be necessarily performed by him or them; such as attending at the examination, keeping the fugitive in custody, and providing him with food and lodging during his detention, and until the final determination of such Commissioner; and, in general, for performing such other duties as may be required by such claimant, his or her attorney or agent, or Commissioner in the premises. Such fees to be made up in conformity with the fees usually charged by the officers of the courts of justice within the proper district or county, as near as may be practicable, and paid by such claimants, their agents or attorneys, whether such supposed fugitives from service or labor be ordered to be delivered to such claimants by the final determination of such Commissioner or not.

SEC. 9. That, upon affidavit made by the claimant of such fugitive, his agent or attorney, after such certificate has been issued, that he has reason to apprehend that such fugitive will be rescued by force from his or her possession before he can be taken beyond the limits of the state in which the arrest is made, it shall be the duty of the officer making the arrest to retain such fugitive in his custody, and to remove him to the state whence he fled, and there to deliver him to said claimant, his agent or attorney. And to this end, the officer aforesaid is hereby authorized and required to employ so many persons

as he may deem necessary to overcome such force, and to retain them in his service so long as circumstances may require. The said officer and his assistants while so employed to receive the same compensation, and to be allowed the same expenses as are now allowed by law for transportation of criminals, to be certified by the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and paid out of the treasury of the United States.

SEC. 10. That when any person held to service or labor in any state or territory, or in the district of Columbia, shall escape therefrom, the party to whom such service or labor may be due, his, her, or their agent or attorney, may apply to any court of record therein, or judge thereof in vacation, and make satisfactory proof to such court, or judge in vacation, of the escape aforesaid, and that the person escaping owed service or labor to such party. Whereupon the court shall cause a record to be made of the matters so proved, and also a general description of the person so escaping, with such convenient certainty as may be; and a transcript of such record, authenticated by the attestation of the clerk and of the seal of the said court, being produced in any other state, territory or district in which the person so escaping may be found, and being exhibited to any Judge, Commissioner, or other officer authorized by the law of the United States to cause persons escaping from service or labor to be delivered up, shall be held and taken to be full and conclusive evidence of the fact of the escape, and that the service or labor of the person escaping is due to the party in such record mentioned. And upon the production by the said party of other and further evidence if necessary, either oral or by affidavit, in addition to what is contained in the said record of the identity of the person escaping, he or she shall be delivered up to the claimant. And the said Court, Commissioner, Judge, or other person authorized by this Act to grant certificates to claimants of fugitives, shall, upon the production of the record and other evidences aforesaid, grant to such claimant a certificate of his right to take any such person identified and proved to be owing service or labor as aforesaid, which shall authorize such claimant to seize or arrest and transport such person to the state or territory from which he escaped: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed as requiring the production of a transcript of such record as evidence as aforesaid. But in its absence the claim shall be heard and determined upon other satisfactory proofs, competent in law.

Approved September 18, 1850.

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA ACT OF 1854.

An Act to Organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this Act, to wit: beginning at a point in the Missouri river where the fortieth parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the east boundary of the territory of Utah on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence on said summit northward to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of the territory of Minnesota; thence southward on said boundary to the Missouri river; thence down the main channel of said river to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, created into a temporary government by the name of the territory of Nebraska; and when admitted as a state or states, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to inhibit the Government of the United States from dividing said territory into two or more territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said territory to any other state or territory of the United States: *Provided further*, That nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to impair the rights of person or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which, by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory; but all such territory shall be excepted out of the boundaries, and constitute no part of the territory of Nebraska, until said tribe shall signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within the said territory of Nebraska, or to affect the authority of the Government of the United States to make any regulations respecting such Indians, their lands, property or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would have been competent to the government to make if this Act had never passed.

Sec. 2. That the executive power and authority in and over said territory of Nebraska shall be vested in a Governor, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States. The Governor shall reside within said territory, and shall be commander-in-chief of the militia thereof. He may grant pardons and respites for offences against the laws of said territory, and reprieves for offences against the laws of the United States, until the decision or

the President can be made known thereon; he shall commission all officers who shall be appointed to office under the laws of the said territory, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

SEC. 3. That there shall be a secretary of said territory, who shall reside therein, and hold his office for five years, unless sooner removed by the President of the United States; he shall record and preserve all the laws and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly hereinafter constituted, and all the acts and proceedings of the Governor in his executive department; he shall transmit one copy of the laws and journals of the Legislative Assembly within thirty days after the end of each session, and one copy of the executive proceedings and official correspondence semi-annually, on the first days of January and July in each year, to the President of the United States, and two copies of the laws to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to be deposited in the libraries of Congress; and, in case of the death, removal, resignation, or absence of the Governor from the territory, the secretary shall be, and he is hereby authorized and required to execute and perform all the powers and duties of the Governor during such vacancy or absence, or until another Governor shall be duly appointed and qualified to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 4. That the legislative power and authority of said territory shall be vested in the Governor and a Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Assembly shall consist of a Council and House of Representatives. The Council shall consist of thirteen members, having the qualifications of voters, as hereinafter prescribed, whose term of service shall continue two years. The House of Representatives shall, at its first session, consist of twenty-six members, possessing the same qualifications as prescribed for members of the Council, and whose term of service shall continue one year. The number of representatives may be increased by the Legislative Assembly, from time to time, in proportion to the increase of qualified voters: *Provided*, That the whole number shall never exceed thirty-nine; an apportionment shall be made as nearly equal as practicable, among the several counties or districts, for the election of the Council and representatives, giving to each section of the territory representation in the ratio of its qualified voters as nearly as may be. And the members of the Council and of the House of Representatives shall reside in, and be inhabitants of, the district or county, or counties, for which they may be elected respectively. Previous to the first election, the Governor shall cause a census, or enumeration of the inhabitants and qualified voters of the several counties and districts of the territory, to be taken by such persons and in such mode as the Governor shall designate and appoint; and the persons so appointed shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor. And the first election shall be held at such times and places, and be conducted in such manner, both as to the persons who shall superintend such election and the returns thereof, as the Governor shall appoint and direct; and he shall at the same time declare the number of members of the Council and House of Representatives to which each of the counties or districts shall be entitled under this Act. The per-

sons having the highest number of legal votes in each of said Council districts for members of the Council, shall be declared by the Governor to be duly elected to the Council; and the persons having the highest number of legal votes for the House of Representatives, shall be declared by the Governor to be duly elected members of said House: *Provided*, That in case two or more persons voted for shall have an equal number of votes, and in case a vacancy shall otherwise occur in either branch of the Legislative Assembly, the Governor shall order a new election; and the persons thus elected to the Legislative Assembly shall meet at such place and on such day as the Governor shall appoint; but thereafter, the time, place, and manner of holding and conducting all elections by the people, and the apportioning the representation in the several counties or districts to the Council and House of Representatives, according to the number of qualified voters, shall be prescribed by law, as well as the day of the commencement of the regular sessions of the Legislative Assembly: *Provided*, That no session in any one year shall exceed the term of forty days, except the first session, which may continue sixty days.

SEC. 5. That every free white male inhabitant, above the age of twenty-one years, who shall be an actual resident of said territory, and shall possess the qualifications hereinafter prescribed, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said territory; but the qualifications of voters, and of holding office, at all subsequent elections, shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly: *Provided*, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States and those who shall have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the Constituton of the United States and the provisions of this Act: *And provided further*, That no officer, soldier, seaman, or marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, or attached to troops in the service of the United States, shall be allowed to vote or hold office in said territory, by reason of being on service therein.

SEC. 6. That the legislative power of the territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this Act; but no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil; no tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States; nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents. Every bill which shall have passed the Council and House of Representatives of the said territory, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the Governor of the territory; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections to the House in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by whibch it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the

votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, to be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the Governor within three days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Assembly, by adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

SEC. 7. That all township, district, and county officers, not herein otherwise provided for, shall be appointed or elected, as the case may be, in such manner as shall be provided by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the territory of Nebraska. The Governor shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, appoint all officers not herein otherwise provided for; and in the first instance the Governor alone may appoint all said officers, who shall hold their offices until the end of the first session of the Legislative Assembly; and shall lay off the necessary districts for members of the Council and House of Representatives, and all other officers.

SEC. 8. That no member of the Legislative Assembly shall hold, or be appointed to, any office which shall have been created, or the salary or emoluments of which shall have been increased, while he was a member, during the term for which he was elected, and for one year after the expiration of such term; but this restriction shall not be applicable to members of the first Legislative Assembly; and no person holding a commission or appointment under the United States, except postmasters, shall be a member of the Legislative Assembly, or shall hold any office under the government of said territory.

SEC. 9. That the judicial power of said territory shall be vested in a Supreme Court, District Courts, Probate Courts, and in Justices of the Peace. The Supreme Court shall consist of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, any two of whom shall constitute a quorum, and who shall hold a term at the seat of government of said territory annually, and they shall hold their offices during the period of four years, and until their successors shall be appointed and qualified. The said territory shall be divided into three judicial districts, and a District Court shall be held in each of said districts by one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, at such times and places as may be prescribed by law; and the said Judges shall, after their appointments, respectively, reside in the district which shall be assigned them. The jurisdiction of the several courts herein provided for, both appellate and original, and that of the Probate Courts and of Justices of the Peace, shall be as limited by law: *Provided*, That Justices of the Peace shall not have jurisdiction of any matter in controversy when the title or boundaries of land may be in dispute, or where the debt or sum claimed shall exceed one hundred dollars; and the said Supreme and District Courts, respectively, shall possess chancery as well as common law jurisdiction. Each District Court, or the Judge thereof, shall appoint its clerk, who shall also be the register in chancery, and shall keep his office at the place where the court may be held. Writs of error, bills of exception, and appeals, shall be allowed in all cases from the final decision of said District Courts to the Supreme Court,

under such regulations as may be prescribed by law; but in no case removed to the Supreme Court shall trial by jury be allowed in said court. The Supreme Court, or the Justices thereof, shall appoint its own clerk, and every clerk shall hold his office at the pleasure of the court for which he shall have been appointed. Writs of error, and appeals from the final decision of said Supreme Court, shall be allowed, and may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the Circuit Courts of the United States, where the value of the property, or the amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, or other competent witness, shall exceed one thousand dollars; except only that in all cases involving title to slaves, the said writs of error or appeals shall be allowed and decided by the said Supreme Court, without regard to the value of the matter, property, or title in controversy; and except also that a writ of error or appeal shall also be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, from the decisions of the said Supreme Court created by this Act, or of any Judge thereof, or of the District Courts created by this Act, or of any Judge thereof, upon any writ of *habeas corpus*, involving the question of personal freedom: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to apply to or affect the provisions of the "Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February twelfth, seventeen hundred and ninety-three, and the "Act to amend and supplementary to the aforesaid Act," approved September eighteen, eighteen hundred and fifty; and each of the said District Courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States as is vested in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States; and the said Supreme and District Courts of the said territory, and the respective Judges thereof, shall and may grant writs of *habeas corpus* in all cases in which the same are granted by the Judges of the United States in the district of Columbia; and the first six days of every term of said courts, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, shall be appropriated to the trial of causes arising under the said Constitution and laws, and writs of error and appeal in all such cases shall be made to the Supreme Court of said territory, the same as in other cases. The said clerk shall receive in all such cases the same fees which the clerks of the District Courts of Utah territory now receive for similar services.

SEC. 10. That the provisions of an Act entitled "An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February twelve, seventeen hundred and ninety-three, and the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to amend, and supplementary to, the aforesaid Act," approved September eighteen, eighteen hundred and fifty, be, and the same are hereby, declared to extend to and be in full force within the limits of said territory of Nebraska.

SEC. 11. That there shall be appointed an attorney for said territory, who shall continue in office for four years, and until his successor

shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President, and who shall receive the same fees and salary as the attorney of the United States for the present territory of Utah. There shall also be a marshal for the territory appointed, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the President, and who shall execute all processes issuing from the said courts when exercising their jurisdiction as Circuit and District Courts of the United States; he shall perform the duties, be subject to the same regulations and penalties, and be entitled to the same fees as the marshal of the District Court of the United States for the present territory of Utah, and shall, in addition, be paid two hundred dollars annually as a compensation for extra services.

SEC. 12. That the Governor, secretary, chief justice, and associate justices, attorney, and marshal, shall be nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed by the President of the United States. The Governor and secretary to be appointed as aforesaid, shall, before they act as such, respectively take an oath or affirmation before the District Judge or some Justice of the Peace in the limits of said territory, duly authorized to administer oaths and affirmations by the laws now in force therein, or before the Chief Justice or some Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to support the Constitution of the United States, and faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective offices, which said oaths, when so taken, shall be certified by the person by whom the same shall have been taken; and such certificates shall be received and recorded by the said secretary among the executive proceedings: and the Chief Justice and Associate Justices, and all other civil officers in said territory, before they act as such, shall take a like oath or affirmation before the said Governor or secretary, or some Judge or Justice of the Peace of the territory who may be duly commissioned and qualified, which said oath or affirmation shall be certified and transmitted by the person taking the same to the secretary, to be by him recorded as aforesaid; and afterwards, the like oath or affirmation shall be taken, certified, and recorded, in such manner and form as may be prescribed by law. The Governor shall receive an annual salary of two thousand five hundred dollars. The Chief Justice and Associate Justices shall receive an annual salary of two thousand dollars. The secretary shall receive an annual salary of two thousand dollars. The said salaries shall be paid quarter-yearly, from the dates of the respective appointments, at the treasury of the United States; but no such payment shall be made until said officers shall have entered upon the duties of their respective appointments. The members of the Legislative Assembly shall be entitled to receive three dollars each per day during their attendance at the sessions thereof, and three dollars each for every twenty miles' travel in going to and returning from the said sessions, estimated according to the nearest usually traveled route; and an additional allowance of three dollars shall be paid to the presiding officer of each House for each day he shall

so preside. And a chief clerk, one assistant clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, and door-keeper, may be chosen for each House; and the chief clerk shall receive four dollars per day, and the said other officers three dollars per day, during the session of the Legislative Assembly; but no other officers shall be paid by the United States: *Provided*, That there shall be but one session of the Legislature annually, unless, on an extraordinary occasion, the Governor shall think proper to call the Legislature together. There shall be appropriated, annually, the usual sum, to be expended by the Governor, to defray the contingent expenses of the territory, including the salary of a clerk of the executive department; and there shall also be appropriated, annually, a sufficient sum, to be expended by the secretary of the territory, and upon an estimate to be made by the secretary of the treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the Legislative Assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses; and the Governor and secretary of the territory shall, in the disbursement of all moneys intrusted to them, be governed solely by the instructions of the secretary of the treasury of the United States, and shall, semi-annually, account to the said secretary for the manner in which the aforesaid moneys shall have been expended; and no expenditure shall be made by said Legislative Assembly for objects not specially authorized by the Acts of Congress making the appropriations, nor beyond the sums thus appropriated for such objects.

SEC. 13. That the Legislative Assembly of the territory of Nebraska shall hold its first session at such time and place in said territory as the Governor thereof shall appoint and direct; and at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the Governor and Legislative Assembly shall proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for said territory at such place as they may deem eligible; which place, however, shall thereafter be subject to be changed by the said Governor and Legislative Assembly.

SEC. 14. That a delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, to serve for the term of two years, who shall be a citizen of the United States, may be elected by the voters qualified to elect members of the Legislative Assembly, who shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges as are exercised and enjoyed by the delegates from the several other territories of the United States to the said House of Representatives, but the delegate first elected shall hold his seat only during the term of the Congress to which he shall be elected. The first election shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, as the Governor shall appoint and direct; and at all subsequent elections the times, places, and manner of holding the elections shall be prescribed by law. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be declared by the Governor to be duly elected, and a certificate thereof shall be given accordingly. That the Constitution, and all the laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said territory of Nebraska as elsewhere within the United States, except the eighth section of the Act preparatory to the admission of

Missouri into the Union, approved March sixth, eighteen hundred and twenty, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognized by the legislation of eighteen hundred and fifty, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the Act of sixth March, eighteen hundred and twenty, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting, or abolishing slavery.

SEC. 15. That there shall hereafter be appropriated, as has been customary for the territorial governments, a sufficient amount, to be expended under the direction of the said Governor of the territory of Nebraska, not exceeding the sums heretofore appropriated for similar objects, for the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government, and for the purchase of a library, to be kept at the seat of government for the use of the Governor, Legislative Assembly, Judges of the Supreme Court, secretary, marshal, and attorney of said territory, and such other persons, and under such regulations as shall be prescribed by law.

SEC. 16. That when the lands in the said territory shall be surveyed under the direction of the government of the United States, preparatory to bringing the same into market, sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six, in each township in said territory, shall be, and the same are hereby reserved for the purpose of being applied to schools in said territory, and in the states and territories hereafter to be erected out of the same.

SEC. 17. That, until otherwise provided by law, the Governor of said territory may define the judicial districts of said territory, and assign the judges who may be appointed for said territory to the several districts; and also appoint the times and places for holding courts in the several counties or subdivisions in each of said judicial districts by proclamation, to be issued by him; but the Legislative Assembly, at their first or any subsequent session, may organize, alter, or modify such judicial districts, and assign the judges, and alter the times and places of holding the courts, as to them shall seem proper and convenient.

SEC. 18. That all officers to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the territory of Nebraska, who, by virtue of the provisions of any law now existing, or which may be enacted during the present Congress, are required to give security for moneys that may be intrusted with them for disbursements, shall give such security, at such time and place, and in such manner as the secretary of the treasury may prescribe.

SEC. 19. That all that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, except such portions thereof as are hereinafter expressly exempted from the operations of this act, to

wit: beginning at a point on the western boundary of the state of Missouri, where the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence west on said parallel to the eastern boundary of New Mexico; thence north on said boundary to latitude thirty-eight; thence following said boundary westward to the east boundary of the territory of Utah, on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; thence northward on said summit to the fortieth parallel of latitude; thence east on said parallel to the western boundary of ths state of Missouri; thence south with the western boundary of said state to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, created into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Kansas; and when admitted as a state or states, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the government of the United States from dividing said territory into two or more territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said territory to any other state or territory of the United States: *Provided, further*, That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to impair the rights of persons or property now pertaining to the Indians in said territory, so long as such rights shall remain unextinguished by treaty between the United States and such Indians, or to include any territory which, by treaty with any Indian tribe, is not, without the consent of said tribe, to be included within the territorial limits or jurisdiction of any state or territory; but all such territory shall be excepted out of the boundaries, and constitute no part of the territory of Kansas, until said tribe shall signify their assent to the President of the United States to be included within the said territory of Kansas, or to affect the authority of the government of the United States to make any regulation respecting such Indians, their lands, property, or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would have been competent to the government to make if this act had never passed.

[With the single exception of the location of the seat of government for KANSAS at Fort Leavenworth, provided for in section 31, the ensuing sixteen sections, relative to the organization and government of the territory, are precisely similar to the sections already recited, providing for the government of Nebraska territory. The final section of the act, which has a general reference to both territories, is as follows:]

SEC. 37. *And be it further enacted*, That all treaties, laws, and other engagements made by the Government of the United States with the Indian tribes inhabiting the territories embraced within this act, shall be faithfully and rigidly observed, notwithstanding anything contained in this act; and that the existing agencies and superintendencies of said Indians be continued, with the same powers and duties which are now prescribed by law, except that the President of the United States may at his discretion change the location of the office of superintendent

MISSOURI COMPROMISE OF 1820.

When Missouri applied for admission into the Union, a proposition was started in Congress to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the new state. This had the effect of arraying the South against the North—the slave-holding against the non-slave-holding states—and the whole subject of slavery became the exciting topic of debate throughout the country. The question was finally settled by a *Compromise*, which tolerated slavery in Missouri, but otherwise prohibited it in all the territory of the United States north and west of the northern limits of Arkansas.

As the principle then settled has often since been the prolific source of much sectional controversy and angry debate, and as it is desirable that every one should be familiar with the *real* provisions of the act by which Missouri was admitted, we have concluded to insert here so much of the law as is necessary to a full understanding of the subject. All the sections except the following relate entirely to the formation of the Missouri territory, in the usual form of territorial bills:

"Sec. 8. That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the state contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, for ever prohibited. *Provided always*, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed, in any state or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT DECENNIAL PERIODS.

Census Years.	White Persons.	Colored Persons.			Total Population.
		Free.	Slave.	Total	
1790...	3,172,464	59,466	697,897	757,363	3,929,827
1800...	4,304,489	108,395	893,041	1,001,436	5,305,925
1810...	5,862,004	186,446	1,191,364	1,377,810	7,239,814
1820...	7,861,937	238,156	1,538,038	1,776,194	9,638,131
1830...	10,537,378	319,599	2,009,043	2,328,642	12,866,020
1840...	14,195,695	386,303	2,487,455	2,873,758	17,069,453
1850...	19,553,068	434,495	3,204,313	3,638,808	23,191,876

It will be seen by the above table that the population increases naturally and by immigration at the yearly rate of three per cent, which would give, in 1855, about 27,000,000, and in 1860, 31,000,000.

FORMATION OF THE ORIGINAL UNION.

On Monday, the 5th September, 1774, there were assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, a number of men who had been chosen and appointed by the several colonies in North America to hold a Congress for the purpose of discussing certain grievances imputed against the mother-country. This Congress resolved on the next day that each colony should have one vote only. On Tuesday, the 2d July, 1776, the Congress resolved, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States," etc., etc.; and on Thursday, the 4th July, the whole Declaration of Independence having been agreed upon, it was publicly read to the people. Shortly after, on the 9th September, it was resolved that the words "United Colonies" should be no longer used, and that the "United States of America" should thenceforward be the style and title of the Union. On Saturday, the 15th November, 1777, "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union of the United States of America" were agreed to by the state delegates, subject to the ratification of the state legislatures severally. Eight of the states ratified these articles on the 9th July, 1778; one on the 21st July; one on the 24th July; one on the 26th November of the same year; one on the 22d February, 1779; and the last one on the 1st March, 1781. Here was a bond of union between thirteen independent states, whose delegates in Congress legislated for the general welfare, and executed certain powers, so far as they were permitted by the articles aforesaid. The following are the names of the Presidents of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1788:

Peyton Randolph, Virginia	5th Sept., 1774
Henry Middleton, South Carolina	22d Oct., 1774
Peyton Randolph, Virginia	10th May, 1775
John Hancock, Massachusetts	24th " 1776
Henry Laurens, South Carolina	1st Nov., 1777
John Jay, New York	10th Dec., 1778
Samuel Huntingdon, Connecticut	28th Sept., 1779
Thomas McKean, Delaware	10th July, 1781
John Hanson, Maryland	5th Nov., 1781
Elias Boudinot, New Jersey	4th " 1782
Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania	3d " 1783
Richard Henry Lee, Virginia	30th " 1784
Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts	6th Jan., 1786
Arthur St. Clair, Pennsylvania	2d Feb., 1787
Cyrus Griffin, Virginia	22d Jan., 1788

The seat of government was established as follows: at Philadelphia, Pa., commencing September 5, 1774, and May 10, 1775; at Baltimore, Md., December 20, 1776; at Philadelphia, Pa., March 4, 1777; at Lancaster, Pa., September 27, 1777; at York, Pa., September 30, 1777; at Philadelphia, Pa., July 2, 1778; at Princeton, N. J., June 30, 1783; at Annapolis, Md., November 26, 1783; at Trenton, N. J., November 1, 1784; and at New York City, N. Y., Jan. 11, 1785.

On the 4th March, 1789, the present Constitution, which had been adopted by a convention and ratified by the requisite number of states, went into operation.

ELECTORAL VOTES

FOR

PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

ELECTION FOR THE FIRST TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1789, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1793.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	George Washington, of Virginia.	John Adams, of Massachusetts.	Samuel Huntington, of Connecticut.	John Jay, of New York.	John Hancock, of Massachusetts.	R. H. Harrison, of Maryland.	George Clinton, of New York.	John Rutledge, of South Carolina.	John Milton, of Georgia.	James Armstrong, of Georgia.	Edward Telfair, of Georgia.	Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts.
5	New Hampshire....	5	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
10	Massachusetts	10	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
7	Connecticut.....	7	5	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
6	New Jersey.....	6	1	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
10	Pennsylvania.....	10	8	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware	3	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
6	Maryland.....	6	....	....	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....
10	Virginia.....	10	5	....	1	1	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
7	South Carolina.....	7	....	....	....	1	....	....	6	....	....	....	....
5	Georgia.....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	1	1
69	Whole No. Electors. Majority.....35	69	34	2	9	4	6	3	6	2	1	1	1

The first Congress under the Constitution was convened at the "Federal Hall," situated at the head of Broad, fronting on Wall street, (where the Custom-House now stands,) in the city of New York, on the first Wednesday, being March 4, 1789—Senators and Representatives having been elected from the eleven states which had ratified the Constitution; but, owing to the absence of a quorum, the House was not organized till the 1st of April, and, for a like reason, the Senate was not organized till the 6th; when the latter body "proceeded by ballot to the choice of a President, for the sole purpose of opening and counting the [electoral] votes for President of the United States." John Langdon, of New Hampshire, was chosen President *pro tem.* of the Senate, and Samuel Alyne Otis, of Massachusetts, Secretary; after which, proper measures were taken to notify the successful individuals of their election.

George Washington took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties April 30, 1789. (For his Inaugural Address, see p. 24.)

John Adams, Vice-President, entered upon his duties in the Senate April 21, 1789, and took the oath of office June 3, 1789.

ELECTION FOR THE SECOND TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1793, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1797.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	George Washington, of Virginia.	John Adams, of Massachusetts.	George Clinton, of New York.	Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.	Aaron Burr, of New York.
6	New Hampshire	6	6	....	....	....
16	Massachusetts	16	16	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	4	....	....	....
9	Connecticut	9	9	....	....	....
3	Vermont	3	3	....	....	....
12	New York	12	....	12	....	....
7	New Jersey	7	7	....	....	....
15	Pennsylvania	15	14	1	....	....
3	Delaware	3	3	....	....	....
8	Maryland	8	8	....	....	....
21	Virginia	21	....	21	....	....
4	Kentucky	4	....	....	4	....
12	North Carolina	12	....	12	....	....
8	South Carolina	8	7	....	....	1
4	Georgia	4	....	4	....	....
132	Whole No. of Electors	132	77	50	4	1
	Majority 67					

George Washington, re-elected President, took the oath of office for a second term, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1793.

John Adams, re-elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties in the Senate, December 2, 1793.

After the expiration of his second Presidential term, Washington retired to the tranquil shades of Mount Vernon, fondly indulging the hope that the remainder of his days would be peacefully enjoyed in his much-cherished home; but these pleasing anticipations were not allowed to remain long undisturbed. In 1798 the conduct of the French Directory and its emissaries led to frequent difficulties with this country, which were calculated to provoke a war; and the opinion was universally entertained that he who had formerly so well acquitted himself, must be again called to the command of our armies. Accordingly, early in July, the rank and title of "Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of all the armies raised, or to be raised, in the United States," was conferred upon him; and the Secretary of War, Mr. McHenry, immediately waited upon him to tender the commission. In a letter to President Adams, accepting "this new proof of public confidence," he makes a reservation that he shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require his presence, and adds: "I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public, and that I cannot receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a situation to incur expense."

ELECTION FOR THE THIRD TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1797, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1801.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	John Adams, of Massachusetts.	Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.	Thos. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	Aaron Burr, of New York.	Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts.	Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut.	John Jay, of New York.	George Clinton, of New York.	S. Johnston, of North Carolina.	James Iredell, of North Carolina.	Geo. Washington, of Virginia.	C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	John Henry, of Maryland.
6	New Hampshire	6	....	....	....	....	6	....	....	2	....	....	....	....
16	Massachusetts.	16	....	13	....	....	1	....	....	2	....	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island...	4	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
9	Connecticut...	9	....	4	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....
4	Vermont.....	4	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
12	New York.....	12	....	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
7	New Jersey....	7	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
15	Pennsylvania..	1	14	2	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware.....	3	....	3	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
11	Maryland.....	7	4	4	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2
21	Virginia.....	1	20	1	1	15	....	....	3	....	....	1	....	....
4	Kentucky.....	....	4	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
12	North Carolina.	1	11	1	6	....	....	....	....	....	3	1	1	....
8	South Carolina.	....	8	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
4	Georgia.....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....
3	Tennessee.....	....	3	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
139	No. of Electors. Majority... 70	71	68	59	30	15	11	5	7	2	3	2	1	2

John Adams, elected President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1797.

Thomas Jefferson, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties in the Senate, March 4, 1797.

The administration of Mr. Adams encountered the most virulent opposition, both domestic and foreign. France, still in the confusion following her revolution, made improper demands on our country, which not being complied with, she commenced seizing American property on the high seas. Our people, taking different sides, were about equally divided—some approving and others deprecating the course pursued by France. Letters of marque and reprisal were issued by our government, and a navy was raised with surprising promptitude. This had the desired effect, peace being thereby secured; and the aggressor was taught that the Americans were friends in peace, but were not fearful of war when it could not be honorably averted.

The Indians on our western frontiers also caused much trouble; but at length, being severely chastised by General Wayne, they sued for peace, which was granted in 1795.

In 1800 the seat of government was removed from Philadelphia to Washington City, which had been designated by Washington, under a law of Congress, as the most central situation.

ELECTION FOR THE FOURTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1801, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1805.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.	Aaron Burr, of New York.	John Adams, of Massachusetts.	C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	John Jay, of New York.
6	New Hampshire	....	....	6	6	....
16	Massachusetts	....	....	16	16	....
4	Rhode Island	....	....	4	3	1
9	Connecticut	....	....	9	9	....
4	Vermont	....	....	4	4	....
12	New York	12	12	....	....	....
7	New Jersey	....	....	7	7	....
15	Pennsylvania	8	8	7	7	....
3	Delaware	....	....	3	3	....
10	Maryland	5	5	5	5	....
21	Virginia	21	21	....	....	....
4	Kentucky	4	4	....	....	....
12	North Carolina	8	8	4	4	....
3	Tennessee	3	3	....	....	....
8	South Carolina	8	8	....	....	....
4	Georgia	4	4	....	....	....
138	No. of Electors	73	73	65	64	1
	Majority 70					

The electoral vote for Thos. Jefferson and Aaron Burr being equal, no choice was made by the people, and on the 11th of February, 1801, the House of Representatives proceeded to the choice of President in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. On the first ballot eight states voted for Thomas Jefferson, six for Aaron Burr, and the votes of two states were divided. The balloting continued till the 17th of February, when the thirty-fifth ballot, as had all previously, resulted the same as the first. After the thirty-sixth ballot, the Speaker declared that the votes of ten states had been given for Thomas Jefferson, the votes of four states for Aaron Burr, and the votes of two states in blank; and that, consequently, Thomas Jefferson had been elected for the term of four years.

Thomas Jefferson, thus elected President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1801.

In his inaugural address, Mr. Jefferson used the following memorable expression: "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans: we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand, undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which ERROR OF OPINION MAY BE TOLERATED, WHERE REASON IS LEFT FREE TO COMBAT IT."

Aaron Burr, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties in the Senate, March 4, 1801.

ELECTION FOR THE FIFTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1805, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1809.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.	PRESID'T. Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	V. PRES'T. George Clinton, of New York.	V. PRES'T. Rufus King, of New York.
7	New Hampshire	7	....	7	....
19	Massachusetts	19	....	19	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....
9	Connecticut	....	9	....	9
6	Vermont	6	....	6	....
19	New York	19	....	19	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	8	....
20	Pennsylvania	20	....	20	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	3
11	Maryland	9	2	9	2
24	Virginia	24	....	24	....
14	North Carolina	14	....	14	....
10	South Carolina	10	....	10	....
6	Georgia	6	....	6	....
5	Tennessee	5	....	5	....
8	Kentucky	8	....	8	....
3	Ohio	3	....	3	....
176	Whole No. of Electors	162	14	162	14
	Majority	89			

Thomas Jefferson, elected President, took the oath of office for a second term, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1805.

George Clinton, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties in the Senate, March 4, 1805.

Among the most important acts of Mr. Jefferson's administration was the purchase of Louisiana from France for $15,000,000, which territory was surrendered to our government in December, 1803.

In November, 1806, the celebrated "ORDERS IN COUNCIL" were issued by the British government, which prohibited all trade with France and her allies; and, as a retaliatory measure, in December following Bonaparte issued his "MILAN DECREE," interdicting all trade with England and her colonies—thus subjecting almost every American vessel on the ocean to capture. In requital for these tyrannous proceedings, and that England and France might both feel their injustice, Congress decreed an embargo; but as this failed to obtain from either power an acknowledgment of our rights, and was also ruinous to our commerce with other nations, it was repealed in March, 1809.

ELECTION FOR THE SIXTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1809, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1813.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESIDENT.			VICE-PRESIDENT.				
		James Madison, of Virginia.	George Clinton, of New York.	C. C. Pinckney, of South Carolina.	George Clinton, of New York.	James Madison, of Virginia.	James Monroe, of Virginia.	John Langdon, of New Hampshire.	Rufus King, of New York.
7	New Hampshire	....	....	7	....	....	....	....	7
19	Massachusetts	....	....	19	....	....	....	....	19
4	Rhode Island	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	4
9	Connecticut	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	9
6	Vermont	6	....	....	....	....	....	6	....
19	New York	13	6	....	13	3	3	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	....	8	....	....	....	....
20	Pennsylvania	20	....	....	20	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	3
11	Maryland	9	....	2	9	....	....	....	2
24	Virginia	24	....	....	24	....	....	....	....
14	North Carolina	11	....	3	11	....	....	....	3
10	South Carolina	10	....	....	10	....	....	....	....
6	Georgia	6	....	....	6	....	....	....	....
7	Kentucky	7	....	....	7	....	....	....	....
5	Tennessee	5	....	....	5	....	....	....	....
3	Ohio	3	....	....	....	....	....	3	....
175	Whole No. of Electors	122	6	47	113	3	3	9	47
	Majority 88								

James Madison took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1809.

George Clinton, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1809.

Our national position, especially in regard to England and France, was certainly a very perplexing one when Mr. Madison came to the Presidency. We were not only threatened by enemies abroad, but were harassed by a savage foe on our western frontier, probably urged on by British influence, and led by the famous chief Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet. These last were finally subdued in 1811; but our European foes were more troublesome. After all peaceful means had failed to check the aggressions of England, and when at length "patience had ceased to be a virtue," war was declared against that country, June 19, 1812. The events of that war it is not within our province to record; and it is sufficient to say, that they greatly elevated the American character in the estimation of both friends and enemies.

ELECTION FOR THE SEVENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1813, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1817.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. James Madison, of Virginia.	PRESID'T. De Witt Clinton, of New York.	V. PRES'T. Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts.	V. PRES'T. Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania
8	New Hampshire	....	8	1	7
22	Massachusetts	....	22	2	20
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	4
9	Connecticut	....	9	....	9
8	Vermont	8	....	8	....
29	New York	....	29	....	29
8	New Jersey	....	8	....	8
25	Pennsylvania	25	....	25	....
4	Delaware	....	4	....	4
11	Maryland	6	5	6	5
25	Virginia	25	....	25	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	11	....
8	Georgia	8	....	8	....
12	Kentucky	12	....	12	....
8	Tennessee	8	....	8	....
7	Ohio	7	....	7	....
3	Louisiana	3	....	3	....
217	Whole No. of Electors	128	89	131	86
	Majority 109				

James Madison, elected President for a second term. [There is no notice on the Journals of Congress of his having taken the oath.]

Elbridge Gerry, elected Vice-President, attended in the Senate on the 24th of May, 1813, and exhibited a certificate of his having taken the oath of office prescribed by law, which was read.

The war into which the country had been forced was brought to a close by the treaty of Ghent, which was signed December 24, 1814; but this treaty had scarcely been ratified, when it became necessary to commence another war for the protection of American commerce and seamen against Algerine piracies. In May, 1815, a squadron under Commodore Decatur sailed for the Mediterranean, where the naval force of Algiers was cruising for American vessels. After capturing two of the enemy's best frigates in that sea, Decatur proceeded to the Bay of Algiers, and there dictated a treaty which secured the United States from any further molestation from that quarter. Similar treaties were also concluded with the other Barbary powers.

ELECTION FOR THE EIGHTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1817, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1821.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T.		VICE-PRESIDENT.				
		James Monroe, of Virginia.	Rufus King, of New York.	D. D. Tompkins, of New York.	John E. Howard, of Maryland.	James Ross, of Pennsylvania.	John Marshall, of Virginia.	Rob't G. Harper, of Maryland.
8	New Hampshire	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
22	Massachusetts	....	22	....	22	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....	....	....	....
9	Connecticut	....	9	....	....	5	4	....
8	Vermont	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
29	New York	29	....	29	....	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
25	Pennsylvania	25	....	25	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	....	....	....	3
8	Maryland	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
25	Virginia	25	....	25	....	....	....	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	11	....	....	....	....
8	Georgia	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
12	Kentucky	12	....	12	....	....	....	....
8	Tennessee	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
8	Ohio	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
3	Louisiana	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
3	Indiana	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
217	Whole No. of Electors	183	34	183	22	5	4	3
	Majority 109							

James Monroe took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1817.

Daniel D. Tompkins, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1817.

The Seminole and a few of the Creek Indians commenced depredations on the frontiers of Georgia and Alabama towards the close of 1817, for which they were severely chastised by a force under General Jackson, and gladly sued for peace.

In February, 1819, a treaty was negotiated at Washington, by which Spain ceded to the United States East and West Florida and the adjacent islands. In the same year the southern portion of Missouri territory was set off under the name of Arkansas, for which a territorial government was formed; and Alabama was constituted a state, and admitted into the Union.

Early in 1820 the province of Maine, which had been connected with Massachusetts since 1652, was separated from it, and was admitted into the Union as an independent state.

ELECTION FOR THE NINTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1821, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1825.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. James Monroe, of Virginia.	PRESID'T. John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.	VICE-PRESIDENT. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.	VICE-PRESIDENT. Richard Stockton, of New Jersey.	VICE-PRESIDENT. Robert G. Harper, of Maryland.	VICE-PRESIDENT. Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania.	VICE-PRESIDENT. Daniel Rodney, of Delaware.
8	New Hampshire	7	1	7	....	....	1	....
15	Massachusetts	15	....	7	8	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....	....	....	....
9	Connecticut	9	....	9	....	....	....	....
8	Vermont	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
29	New York	29	....	29	....	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
25	Pennsylvania	24	....	24	....	....	....	....
4	Delaware	4	....	....	....	....	....	4
11	Maryland	11	....	10	....	1	....	....
25	Virginia	25	....	25	....	....	....	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	11	....	....	....	....
8	Georgia	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
12	Kentucky	12	....	12	....	....	....	....
8	Tennessee	7	....	7	....	....	....	....
8	Ohio	8	....	8	....	....	....	....
3	Louisiana	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
3	Indiana	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
3	Mississippi	2	....	2	....	....	....	....
3	Illinois	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
3	Alabama	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
9	Maine	9	....	9	....	....	....	....
3	Missouri	3	....	3	....	....	....	....
235	No. of Electors	231	1	218	8	1	1	4
	Majority	118						

James Monroe was re-elected President, but there is no notice on the Journals of Congress that he again took the oath of office.

Daniel D. Tompkins was re-elected Vice-President, but there is no record of his having again taken the oath of office.

Public attention was much occupied in 1824–5 by a visit from the venerable General Lafayette, who, after the lapse of nearly half a century from the period of his military career, was again welcomed with every token of respect that could be devised for honoring the "Nation's Guest." He landed in New York in August, 1824, and after remaining there a short time, set out on a tour through all the states. Upwards of a year was taken up in accomplishing this gratifying object; and in September, 1825, he sailed from Washington in the frigate Brandywine for his native home.

ELECTION FOR THE TENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1825, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1829.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESIDENT.				VICE-PRESIDENT.					
		Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.	John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.	William H. Crawford, of Georgia.	Henry Clay, of Kentucky.	John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.	Nathan Sanford, of New York.	Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina.	Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.	Martin Van Buren, of New York.	Henry Clay, of Kentucky.
8	New Hampshire	....	8	....	....	7	....	....	1	....	....
15	Massachusetts	....	15	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
8	Connecticut	....	8	....	....	....	....	....	8	....	....
7	Vermont	....	7	....	....	7	....	....	....	....	....
36	New York	1	26	5	4	29	7	....	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	....	....	8	....	....	....	....	....
28	Pennsylvania	28	....	....	....	28	....	....	....	....	....
3	Delaware	....	1	2	....	1	....	....	....	....	2
11	Maryland	7	3	1	....	10	....	....	1	....	....
24	Virginia	....	....	24	....	....	....	24	....	....	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	....	....	11	....	....	....	....	....
9	Georgia	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	....	9	....
14	Kentucky	....	....	....	14	7	7	....	....	....	....
11	Tennessee	11	....	....	....	11	....	....	....	....	....
16	Ohio	....	....	....	16	....	16	....	....	....	....
5	Louisiana	3	2	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....
5	Indiana	5	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....
3	Mississippi	3	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
3	Illinois	2	1	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....
5	Alabama	5	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....
9	Maine	....	9	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	....
3	Missouri	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	3	....	....
261	Whole No. of Electors	99	84	41	37	182	30	24	13	9	2
	Majority....131										

Neither candidate for the Presidency having received a majority of the electoral votes, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to choose a President from the three highest on the list of those voted for, which three were Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford. Twenty-four tellers (one member from each state) were appointed, who, after examining the ballots, announced that the votes of thirteen states had been given for John Quincy Adams; the votes of seven states for Andrew Jackson; and the votes of four states for William H. Crawford. The Speaker then declared that John Quincy Adams, having received a majority of the votes of all the states, was duly elected President of the United States for four years, commencing on the 4th day of March, 1825; on which day Mr. Adams took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties.

John C. Calhoun, having been elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1825.

ELECTION FOR THE ELEVENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1829, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1833.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.	PRESID'T. John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts.	VICE-PRESIDENT. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.	VICE-PRESIDENT. Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania.	VICE-PRESIDENT. William Smith, of South Carolina.
9	Maine	1	8	1	8	....
8	New Hampshire	....	8	....	8	....
15	Massachusetts	....	15	....	15	....
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	4	....
8	Connecticut	....	8	....	8	....
7	Vermont	....	7	....	7	....
36	New York	20	16	20	16	...
8	New Jersey	....	8	....	8	....
28	Pennsylvania	28	....	28	....	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	3	....
11	Maryland	5	6	5	6	....
24	Virginia	24	....	24	....	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....	....
11	South Carolina	11	....	11	....	....
9	Georgia	9	....	2	....	7
14	Kentucky	14	....	14	....	....
11	Tennessee	11	....	11	....	....
16	Ohio	16	....	16	....	...
5	Louisiana	5	....	5	....	....
3	Mississippi	3	....	3	....	....
5	Indiana	5	....	5	....	....
3	Illinois	3	....	3	....	....
5	Alabama	5	....	5	....	....
3	Missouri	3	....	3	....	....
261	Whole No. of Electors	178	83	171	83	7
	Majority 131					

Andrew Jackson took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1829.

John C. Calhoun took the oath of office, as Vice-President, and presided in the Senate March 4, 1829.

A series of unfortunate political and social occurrences soon led to a rupture of that cordiality which had formerly existed between these two distinguished individuals, the consequences of which were peculiarly disastrous to the political aspirations of Mr. Calhoun, who was never afterwards regarded with much favor beyond the immediate limits of his own state.

ELECTION FOR THE TWELFTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1833, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1837.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESIDENT.				VICE-PRESIDENT.				
		Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee.	Henry Clay, of Kentucky.	John Floyd, of Virginia.	William Wirt, of Maryland.	Martin Van Buren, of New York.	John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania.	William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania.	Henry Lee, of Massachusetts.	Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania.
10	Maine	10	....	....	....	10	....	....	....	....
7	New Hampshire	7	....	....	....	7	....	....	....	....
14	Massachusetts	....	14	....	....	....	14	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	....	....	4	....	....	....
8	Connecticut	....	8	....	....	....	8	....	....	....
7	Vermont	....	....	....	7	....	....	....	....	7
42	New York	42	....	....	....	42	....	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	....	....	8	....	....	....	....
30	Pennsylvania	30	....	....	....	....	....	30	....	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	....	....	3	....	....	....
10	Maryland	3	5	....	....	3	5	....	....	....
23	Virginia	23	....	....	....	23	....	....	....	....
15	North Carolina	15	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	....	....	11	....	....	....	....	11	....
11	Georgia	11	....	....	....	11	....	....	....	....
15	Kentucky	....	15	....	....	....	15	....	....	....
15	Tennessee	15	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....
21	Ohio	21	....	....	....	21	....	....	....	....
5	Louisiana	5	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....
4	Mississippi	4	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....
9	Indiana	9	....	....	....	9	....	....	....	....
5	Illinois	5	....	....	....	5	....	....	....	....
7	Alabama	7	....	....	....	7	....	....	....	....
4	Missouri	4	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....
288	Whole No. of Electors	219	49	11	7	189	49	30	11	7
	Majority.....145									

Andrew Jackson, re-elected President, took the oath of office, and continued his duties. March 4, 1833.

Martin Van Buren, having been elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1833.

Early in June, 1833, the President left Washington on a tour through the Northern states, and was every where received with an enthusiasm that evinced the cordial approval of his administration by the people. One of his first measures, on returning to the seat of government, was the removal of the public moneys from the United States Bank, for which act he encountered the most virulent hostility of a small majority of the Senate, who passed resolutions censuring his course. But this injustice has not been perpetuated; for on the 16th of January, 1837, these partisan resolutions were expunged from the records by order of a handsome majority.

ELECTION FOR THE THIRTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1837, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1841.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESIDENT.					VICE-PRESIDENT.			
		Martin Van Buren, of New York.	Wm. H. Harrison, of Ohio.	Hugh L. White, of Tennessee.	Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.	Willie P. Mangum, of North Carolina.	Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.	Francis Granger, of New York.	John Tyler, of Virginia.	William Smith, of Alabama.
10	Maine	10	....	....	....	....	10	....	....	....
7	New Hampshire	7	....	....	....	....	7	....	....	....
14	Massachusetts	....	....	....	14	....	....	14	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....
8	Connecticut	8	....	....	....	....	8	....	....	....
7	Vermont	....	7	....	....	....	....	7	....	....
42	New York	42	....	....	....	....	42	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	....	8	....	....	....	....	8	....	....
30	Pennsylvania	30	....	....	....	....	30	....	....	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	....	....	....	3	....	....
10	Maryland	....	10	....	....	....	....	....	10	....
23	Virginia	23	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	23
15	North Carolina	15	....	....	....	....	15	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	....	....	....	....	11	....	....	11	....
11	Georgia	....	....	11	....	....	....	....	11	....
15	Kentucky	....	15	....	....	....	....	15	....	....
15	Tennessee	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	15	....
21	Ohio	....	21	....	....	....	....	21	....	....
5	Louisiana	5	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	....
4	Mississippi	4	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....
9	Indiana	....	9	....	....	....	....	9	....	....
5	Illinois	5	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	....
7	Alabama	7	....	....	....	....	7	....	....	....
4	Missouri	4	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....
3	Arkansas	3	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....
3	Michigan	3	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....
294	Whole No. of Electors	170	73	26	14	11	147*	77	47	23
	Majority.....148									

Martin Van Buren, elected President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1837.

Richard M. Johnson, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1837.

Urged by the unprecedented financial embarrassments which were experienced in every branch of industry, and especially by the mercantile class, Mr. Van Buren's first measure was to convene a special meeting of Congress early in September, '37, which continued in session forty days, but accomplished very little. A bill authorizing the issue of $10,000,000 in treasury notes was passed; but the Independent Treasury bill (the great financial measure of the administration) was then rejected, although afterwards (in 1840) adopted.

* Elected by the Senate.

ELECTION FOR THE FOURTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1841, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1845.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T.		VICE-PRESIDENT.			
		Wm. H. Harrison, of Ohio.	Martin Van Buren, of New York.	John Tyler, of Virginia.	Rich'd M. Johnson, of Kentucky.	L. W. Tazewell, of Virginia.	James K. Polk, of Tennessee.
10	Maine	10	....	10	....	....	....
7	New Hampshire	....	7	....	7	....	....
14	Massachusetts	14	....	14	....	....	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....	....	....
8	Connecticut	8	....	8	....	....	....
7	Vermont	7	....	7	....	....	....
42	New York	42	....	42	....	....	....
8	New Jersey	8	....	8	....	....	....
30	Pennsylvania	30	....	30	....	....	....
3	Delaware	3	....	3	....	....	....
10	Maryland	10	....	10	....	....	....
23	Virginia	....	23	....	22	....	1
15	North Carolina	15	....	15	....	....	....
11	South Carolina	....	11	....	....	11	....
11	Georgia	11	....	11	....	....	....
15	Kentucky	15	....	15	....	....	....
15	Tennessee	15	....	15	....	....	....
21	Ohio	21	....	21	....	....	....
5	Louisiana	5	....	5	....	....	....
4	Mississippi	4	....	4	....	....	....
9	Indiana	9	....	9	....	....	....
5	Illinois	....	5	....	5	....	....
7	Alabama	....	7	....	7	....	....
4	Missouri	....	4	....	4	....	....
3	Arkansas	....	3	....	3	....	....
3	Michigan	3	....	3	....	....	....
294	No. of Electors	234	60	234	48	11	1
	Majority 148						

William H. Harrison, elected President, took the oath of office, and entered upon his duties, March 4, 1841.

John Tyler, elected Vice-President, took the oath of office, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1841.

Soon after his inauguration, President Harrison issued a proclamation, convening Congress for an extra session on the 31st of May, to consider "sundry weighty and important matters, chiefly growing out of the state of the revenue and finances of the country." But he did not live to submit his remedial plans—dying, after a very brief illness, on the 4th of April, exactly one month after coming into office. He was the first President who had died during his official term, and a messenger was immediately dispatched with a letter, signed by all the

members of the Cabinet, conveying the melancholy intelligence to the Vice-President, then at Williamsburg, Va. By extraordinary means he reached Washington at five o'clock on the morning of the 6th, and at twelve o'clock the Heads of Departments waited upon him, to pay their official and personal respects. After signifying his deep feeling of the public calamity sustained by the death of President Harrison, and expressing his profound sensibility of the heavy responsibilities so suddenly devolved upon himself, he made known his wishes that the several Heads of Departments would continue to fill the places which they then respectively occupied, and his confidence that they would afford all the aid in their power to enable him to carry on the administration of the government successfully.—Mr. Tyler afterwards took and subscribed the following oath of office:

"I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. JOHN TYLER.
"APRIL 6, 1841."

Pursuant to the proclamation of President Harrison, Congress met on the 31st of May, and continued in session until the 13th of September. On the 27th of July a bill for the establishment of "The Fiscal Bank of the United States," passed the Senate by a vote of 26 to 23, and was concurred in by the House of Representatives on the 6th of August—128 to 91. President Tyler, however, returned the bill on the 16th, with his objections, and it was lost for lack of a constitutional majority. But the friends of a national bank were not to be deterred from their purpose by a single repulse: another bill (about the same in substance) was immediately hurried through both Houses, under the title of "The Fiscal Corporation of the United States," and this also shared the fate of its predecessor.

A Senate bill for the establishment of a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States, was concurred in by the House on the 18th of August, and became a law; but, meeting with very general condemnation, it was soon after repealed.

A bill was also passed at this extra session for the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the several states, in proportion to population.

In 1842 an important treaty, adjusting the north-eastern boundary of the United States, was negotiated at Washington between Mr. Webster, on the part of this country, and Lord Ashburton, on the part of Great Britain.

During the last year of Mr. Tyler's administration much excitement prevailed on the proposed annexation of Texas to the Union, which was strongly resisted at the North, on the ground that the South and southern institutions would thereby gain increased power in the national councils. A treaty of annexation, signed by the President, was rejected by the Senate, but measures were taken by which Texas was admitted the year following.

ELECTION FOR THE FIFTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1845, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1849.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. James K. Polk, of Tennessee.	PRESID'T. Henry Clay, of Kentucky.	V. PRES'T. George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania.	V. PRES'T. T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey.
9	Maine	9	....	9	....
6	New Hampshire	6	....	6	....
12	Massachusetts	....	12	....	12
4	Rhode Island	....	4	....	4
6	Connecticut	....	6	....	6
6	Vermont	....	6	....	6
36	New York	36	....	36	....
7	New Jersey	....	7	....	7
26	Pennsylvania	26	....	26	....
3	Delaware	....	3	....	3
8	Maryland	....	8	....	8
17	Virginia	17	....	17	....
11	North Carolina	....	11	....	11
9	South Carolina	9	....	9	....
10	Georgia	10	....	10	....
12	Kentucky	....	12	....	12
13	Tennessee	....	13	....	13
23	Ohio	....	23	....	23
6	Louisiana	6	....	6	....
6	Mississippi	6	....	6	....
12	Indiana	12	....	12	....
9	Illinois	9	....	9	....
9	Alabama	9	....	9	....
7	Missouri	7	....	7	....
3	Arkansas	3	....	3	....
5	Michigan	5	....	5	....
275	Whole No. of Electors	170	105	170	105
	Majority	138			

James K. Polk took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1845.

George M. Dallas took the oath of office, as Vice-President, and attended in the Senate, March 4, 1845.

The most important incidents of Mr. Polk's administration were the admission of Texas and the consequent war with Mexico, the latter of which resulted in extending our territorial boundaries to the Pacific ocean, embracing regions of incalculable value.

ELECTION FOR THE SIXTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1849, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1853.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana.	PRESID'T. Lewis Cass, of Michigan.	V. PRES'T. Millard Fillmore, of New York.	V. PRES'T. William O. Butler, of Kentucky.
9	Maine	....	9	....	9
6	New Hampshire	....	6	....	6
12	Massachusetts	12	....	12	....
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....
6	Connecticut	6	....	6	....
6	Vermont	6	....	6	....
36	New York	36	....	36	....
7	New Jersey	7	....	7	....
26	Pennsylvania	26	....	26	....
3	Delaware	3	....	3	....
8	Maryland	8	....	8	....
17	Virginia	....	17	....	17
11	North Carolina	11	....	11	....
9	South Carolina	....	9	....	9
10	Georgia	10	....	10	....
12	Kentucky	12	....	12	....
13	Tennessee	13	....	13	....
23	Ohio	....	23	....	23
6	Louisiana	6	....	6	....
6	Mississippi	....	6	....	6
12	Indiana	....	12	....	12
9	Illinois	....	9	....	9
9	Alabama	....	9	....	9
7	Missouri	....	7	....	7
3	Arkansas	....	3	....	3
5	Michigan	....	5	....	5
3	Florida	3	....	3	....
4	Texas	....	4	....	4
4	Iowa	....	4	....	4
4	Wisconsin	....	4	....	4
290	Whole No. of Electors	163	127	163	127
	Majority 146				

Zachary Taylor took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1849. He did not, however, long enjoy his honors—death suddenly closing his earthly career, July 9, 1850.

Millard Fillmore took the oath of office, as Vice-President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1849. Congress being in session at the time President Taylor died, the Vice-President sent a message to both houses on the 10th of July, in which he feelingly announced the melancholy event. On the same day he took the requisite oath, and entered on the execution of the office of President.

Willie P. Mangum, of N. C., President *pro tem.* of the Senate, acted as Vice-President, *ex officio*, during the remainder of the term.

ELECTION FOR THE SEVENTEENTH TERM,

COMMENCING MARCH 4, 1853, AND TERMINATING MARCH 3, 1857.

No. of Electors from each State.	STATES.	PRESID'T. Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire.	PRESID'T. Winfield Scott, of New Jersey.	V. PRES'T. William R. King, of Alabama.	V. PRES'T. Wm. A. Graham, of North Carolina.
8	Maine	8	....	8	....
5	New Hampshire	5	....	5	....
13	Massachusetts	....	13	....	13
4	Rhode Island	4	....	4	....
6	Connecticut	6	....	6	5
5	Vermont	....	5	....	....
35	New York	35	....	35	....
7	New Jersey	7	....	7	....
27	Pennsylvania	27	....	27	....
3	Delaware	3	....	3	...
8	Maryland	8	....	8	....
15	Virginia	15	....	15	....
10	North Carolina	10	....	10	....
8	South Carolina	8	....	8	....
10	Georgia	10	....	10	....
12	Kentucky	....	12	....	12
12	Tennessee	....	12	....	12
23	Ohio	23	....	23	....
6	Louisiana	6	....	6	....
7	Mississippi	7	....	7	....
13	Indiana	13	....	13	....
11	Illinois	11	....	11	....
9	Alabama	9	....	9	....
9	Missouri	9	....	9	....
4	Arkansas	4	....	4	....
6	Michigan	6	....	6	....
3	Florida	3	....	3	....
4	Texas	4	....	4	....
4	Iowa	4	....	4	....
5	Wisconsin	5	....	5	....
4	California	4	....	4	....
296	Whole No. of Electors	254	42	254	42
	Majority 149				

Franklin Pierce took the oath of office, as President, and entered upon his duties March 4, 1853.

The oath of office was administered to William R. King by a commission while he was on a visit to Cuba for the benefit of his health; but he died soon after his return home, and Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana, then President of the Senate, acted as Vice-President, *ex officio*, during the remainder of the term.

John P. Hale, of N. Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, were nominated by the "Free Democracy" for President and Vice-President, but they did not receive a single electoral vote.

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Is one of peculiar interest, and therefore we feel warranted in giving more details of its design and history than can be allotted to the Seals of the several states. Soon after the declaration of independence, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed a committee to prepare a great seal for the infant republic; and they employed a French West Indian, named DuSimitiere, not only to furnish designs, but also to sketch such devices as were suggested by themselves. In one of his designs the artist displayed on a shield the armorial ensigns of the several nations from whence America had been peopled—embracing those of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, and Holland. On one side was placed Liberty, with her cap, and on the other was a rifleman in uniform, with his rifle in one hand and a tomahawk in the other—the dress and weapons being peculiar to America.

Franklin proposed, for the device, Moses lifting his wand, and dividing the Red Sea, and Pharaoh and his hosts overwhelmed with the waters. For a motto, the words of Cromwell, "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

Adams proposed the Choice of Hercules; the hero resting on a club, Virtue pointing to her rugged mountain on one hand, and persuading him to ascend; and Sloth, glancing at her flowery paths of pleasure, wantonly reclining on the ground, displaying the charms, both of her eloquence and person, to seduce him into vice.

Jefferson proposed the Children of Israel in the Wilderness, led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night; and, on the reverse, Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs, from whom we claim the honor of being descended, and whose political principles and form of government we have assumed.

Franklin and Adams then requested Jefferson to combine their ideas in a compact description of the proposed great seal, which he did, and that paper, in his handwriting, is now in the office of the

Secretary of State at Washington. This design consisted of a shield with six quarterings, *parti* one, *coupi* two, in heraldic phrase. The first gold, and an enameled rose, red and white, for England; the second white, with a thistle, in its proper colors, for Scotland; the third green, with a harp of gold, for Ireland; the fourth blue, with a golden lily-flower, for France; the fifth gold, with the imperial black eagle, for Germany; and the sixth gold, with the Belgic crowned red lion, for Holland. These denoted the countries from which America had been peopled. He proposed to place the shield within a red border, on which there should be thirteen white escutcheons, linked together by a gold chain, each bearing appropriate initials, in black, of the confederated states. Supporters, the Goddess of Liberty on the right side, in a corselet of armor, in allusion to the then state of war, and holding the spear and cap in her right hand, while her left supported the shield. On the left, the Goddess of Justice, leaning on a sword in her right hand, and in her left a balance. The crest, the eye of Providence in a radiant triangle, whose glory should extend over the shield, and beyond the figures. Motto: *E Pluribus Unum*—"Many in one." Around the whole, "SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MDCCLXXVI." For the reverse, he proposed the device of Pharaoh, sitting in an open chariot, a crown on his head and a sword in his hand, passing through the divided waters of the Red Sea in pursuit of the Israelites. Rays from a pillar of fire in a cloud, expressive of the Divine presence and command, beaming on Moses, who stands on the shore, and, extending his hand over the sea, causes it to overwhelm Pharaoh and his followers. Motto: Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

Jefferson's device was highly approved by his coadjutors, and the committee reported on the 10th of August, 1776; but, for some unaccountable reason, their report was neglected, not having been even placed on record; and the affair was allowed to slumber until the 24th of March, 1779, when Messrs. Lovell, of Massachusetts, Scott, of Virginia, and Houstoun, of Georgia, were appointed a committee to make another device.

On the 10th of May following they reported in favor of a seal four inches in diameter, one side of which should be composed of a shield with thirteen diagonal stripes, alternate red and white. Supporters, a warrior, holding a sword, on one side, and on the other the figure of Peace, bearing an olive branch. The crest, a radiant constellation of thirteen stars. Motto: *Bello vel Pace*—"For War or Peace"—and the legend, "Seal of the United States." On the reverse, the figure of Liberty, seated in a chair, holding the staff and cap. Motto: *Semper*—"Forever"—and underneath, MDCCLXXVI. This report was re-committed, and again submitted with some slight modifications (substituting the figure of an Indian with bow and arrows in his right hand for that of a warrior) just a year afterwards; but it was not accepted, and the matter rested until April, 1782, when Henry Middleton, Elias Boudinot, and Edward Rutledge were appointed a third

committee to prepare a seal. They reported on the 9th of May following, substantially the same as the committee of 1779 and 1780; but, this not being satisfactory to Congress, on the 13th of June the whole matter was referred to Charles Thomson, its secretary.

He in turn procured several devices, among which was one by William Barton, of Philadelphia, consisting of an escutcheon, with a blue border, spangled with thirteen stars, and divided in the centre, perpendicularly, by a gold bar. On each side of this division, within the blue border, thirteen bars or stripes, alternate red and white, like the American flag adopted on the 14th of June, 1777. Over the gold bar an eye surrounded with a glory, and in the gold bar a Doric column resting on the base of the escutcheon, having a displayed eagle on its summit. The crest, a helmet of burnished gold, damasked, grated with six bars, and surmounted by a red cap of dignity, such as dukes wear, with a black lining, and a cock armed with gaffs. Supporters, on one side the Genius of America, with loose auburn tresses, having on her head a radiant crown of gold, encircled with a sky-blue fillet, spangled with silver stars, and clothed in a long, loose, white garment, bordered with green. From the right shoulder to the left side, a blue scarf with stars, the cinctures being the same as in the border. Around her waist, a purple girdle, fringed with gold, and the word VIRTUE embroidered in white. Her interior hand rested on the escutcheon, and the other held the American standard, on the top of which a white dove was perched. The supporter on the other side was a man in complete armor; his sword-belt blue, fringed with gold; his helmet encircled with a wreath of laurel, and crested with one white and two blue plumes; his left hand supporting the escutcheon, and his right holding a lance with a bloody point. Upon an unfurled green banner was a golden harp with silver strings, a brilliant star, and two lily-flowers, with two crossed swords below. The two figures stood upon a scroll, on which was the motto *Deo Favente*—"With God's Favor"—in allusion to the eye of Providence in the arms. On the crest, in a scroll, was the motto *Virtus sola Invicta*—"Virtue alone Invincible."

After vainly striving to perfect a seal which should meet the approval of Congress, Thomson finally received from John Adams, then in London, an exceedingly simple and appropriate device, suggested by Sir John Prestwich, a baronet of the West of England, who was a warm friend of America and an accomplished antiquarian. It consisted of an escutcheon bearing thirteen perpendicular stripes, white and red, with the chief blue, and spangled with thirteen stars; and, to give it greater consequence, he proposed to place it on the breast of an American eagle displayed, without supporters, as emblematic of self-reliance. It met with general approbation, in and out of Congress, and was adopted in June, 1782: so it is manifest, although the fact is not extensively known, that we are indebted for our national arms to a titled aristocrat of the country with which we were then at war. Eschewing all heraldic technicalities, it may be thus described in plain English: Thirteen perpendicular pieces, white

and red; a blue field; the escutcheon on the breast of the American eagle displayed proper, holding in his right talon an olive-branch, and in his left a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper, and in his beak a scroll, inscribed with the motto *E Pluribus Unum*. For the crest, over the head of the eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a golden glory breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars, forming a constellation of white stars on a blue field.

Reverse. — A pyramid unfinished. In the zenith, an eye in a triangle, surrounded with a glory, proper. Over the eye, the words *Annuit Cœptis* — "God has favored the undertaking." On the base of the pyramid, are the numeral Roman letters MDCCLXXVI.; and underneath, the motto *Novus Ordo Seclorum*—"A New Series of Ages"—denoting that a new order of things had commenced in the Western hemisphere. Thus, after many fruitless efforts for nearly six years, a very simple seal was adopted, and yet remains the arms of the United States.

SEALS OF THE SEVERAL STATES,

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

SETTLED BY THE ENGLISH, 1607.

On a white or silver field the Goddess of Virtue, the genius of the commonwealth, is represented dressed like an Amazon, resting on a spear with one hand, and holding a sword in the other. She is in the act of trampling on Tyranny, represented by a man prostrate, a crown fallen from his head, a broken chain in his left hand, and a scourge in his right. On a label above the figures is the word "Virginia;" and beneath them is the motto, *Sic semper tyrannis*—"Thus we *serve* tyrants." [There are no other devices legitimately belonging to the seal, although artists frequently embellish the field with such local or national emblems as their fancy suggests—a practice "more honored in the breach than in the observance."]

SETTLED BY THE DUTCH, 1614.

A shield, or escutcheon, on which is represented the rising sun, with a range of hills and water in the foreground. Above the shield, for the crest, is a wreath surmounted by a half globe, on which rests a startled eagle, with wings outstretched. For the supporters of the shield, on the right is represented the figure of Justice, with the sword in one hand and the scales in the other; and on left the goddess of Liberty, with the wand and cap in her left hand, and the olive branch of peace in her right. Below the shield is the motto, *Excelsior*—"More elevated"—denoting that the course of the state is *onward* and *higher*. Around the border of the seal, between two plain lines, is the inscription, in Roman capitals, "The Great Seal of the State of New York."

SETTLED BY THE PURITANS, 1620.

On the blue ground of an irregularly-formed shield an Indian is represented, dressed with belted hunting-shirt and moccasins. In his right hand is a golden bow, and in his left an arrow with the point downwards. A silver star on the right denotes one of the United States of America. A wreath forms the crest of the escutcheon, from which extends a right arm, clothed and ruffed, the hand grasping a broadsword, the pommel and hilt of which are of gold. Around the escutcheon, on a waving band or label, are the words, *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem*—"By the sword she seeks peace under liberty." Around the circular border are the words, "*Sigillum Reipublicæ Massachusettensis*": "The Seal of the State of Massachusetts."

SETTLED BY THE PURITANS, 1623.

A circular field, surrounded by a laurel wreath, encompassed by the words, in Roman capitals, "*Sigillum Reipublicæ Neo Hantoniensis*": "The Seal of the State of New Hampshire," with the date, 1784, indicating the time of the adoption of the State Constitution.—Land and water are represented in the foreground, with the trunk of a tree on which the hardy woodman is yet engaged, embracing a scene of busy life significant of the industrious habits of the people; and a ship on the stocks, just ready for launching, with the American banner displayed, is figurative of readiness to embark on the sea of political existence. The sun, just emerging above the horizon, symbolizes the rising destiny of the state, and denotes that her career shall be as brilliant as that cloudless luminary.

SETTLED BY THE DUTCH, 1624.

A white shield, or escutcheon, bearing three ploughs, indicating that the chief reliance of the people is upon agriculture. The crest is a horse's head, supported by a full-face, six-barred helmet, resting on a vase—the latter resting on the top of the escutcheon. The supporters are the Goddess of Liberty on the right, with her wand and cap, her left arm resting on the escutcheon; and Ceres on the left, her right hand resting on the escutcheon, and her left supporting a cornucopia, filled with fruits and flowers. Around the border of the seal are the words, in Roman capitals, "The Great Seal of the State of New Jersey," and at the base the date of its adoption, in numeral letters, MDCCLXXVI. (1776.)

SETTLED BY SWEDES AND DANES, 1627.

An azure shield, or escutcheon, divided into two equal parts by a white band or girdle. A cow is represented in the lower part of the shield, and in the upper part are two symbols, designed probably to represent the agricultural productions of the state—grain and tobacco. The crest (a wreath) supports a ship under full sail, displaying the American banner. On a white field around the escutcheon were formerly wreaths of flowers, branches of the olive, and other symbols, but these have been displaced for two figures, representing a mariner and a hunter. At the bottom of the seal, in numeral letterss, is the date of its adoption, MDCCXCIII. (1793), and around the border, in Roman capitals, are the words, "Great Seal of the State of Delaware. [No description of this seal is to be found in the Secretary's office, and it is here described from an impression in wax.]

SETTLED BY THE IRISH CATHOLICS, 1635.

On a white or silver field the figure of Justice is seen prominent in the centre of the foreground, grasping an olive branch, and a sword in her right hand, while her left is elevating her well-balanced scales above her head. At her feet is a laurel wreath, the fasces, and a cornucopia, with an uninscribed white label waving loosely from their midst. In the distance, on the right, is a view of the ocean, with a ship under full sail in the perspective, bounded by a clear horizon. On the left are some hogsheads of tobacco, symbolical of the principal product of the state, and a ship with its sails partly unfurled, indicative of commercial enterprise. [The old seal was little more than a copy of that of the United States, the eagle being represented as it is on the present coins.]

SETTLED BY THE PURITANS, 1635.

The original seal is of an oval form without any ornamental devices, and on the field are delineated three grape-vines, each winding around and sustained by an upright support—the whole representing the three settlements (Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield) which formed the early colony. On a label waving around the lower vine is the motto, *Qui Transtulit Sustinet*—"He who planted, still sustains." Around the margin of the field are the words, "*Sigillum Reipublicæ Connecticutensis*": "The Seal of the State of Connecticut." [The Colonial seal had fifteen grape-vines, with a hand protruding from the clouds on the right above them, grasping the label and motto, which was waving in the air; but that seal has been broken, and the present seal is used in its stead.]

SETTLED BY ROGER WILLIAMS, 1636.

A white or silver shield, on which is an anchor with two flukes, and a cable attached. Above the shield, in Roman capitals, is the word HOPE, and from each upper corner of the shield is suspended an unlettered label. The device symbolizes those principles of civil and religious liberty which led to the founding of this colony, and in which the faith of the citizens of the state is still deeply *anchored*. The motto, HOPE, above the shield, directs the mind to the uncertain future, anticipating the growing prosperity of the state, and the perpetuity of its free institutions; while the unlettered label denotes that events are still progressing in the march of Time, and await the completion of History, before the destiny of the state shall be recorded thereon.

SETTLED BY THE ENGLISH, 1650.

In the original seal, which differs somewhat from the margin, on a white or silver field are represented the Goddess of Liberty on the right, and Ceres, the Goddess of corn and of harvests, on the left. In the right hand of the former is a scroll, representing the Declaration of Independence, and the left supports her wand, surmounted by the cap of liberty. Ceres has in her right hand three heads or ears of wheat, and in her left the cornucopia, or horn of plenty, filled with the products of the earth. In the background is a marine view, indicative of the commercial resources of the state Around the outer circle, starting from a star on the top, are the words, in Roman capitals, "Great Seal of the State of North Carolina."

SETTLED BY THE HUGUENOTS, 1670.

In the centre of the white or silver field is the device of a palmetto-tree (a species of the date), with its topmost branches denoting a vigorous growth, emblematical of the prosperous progress of the state. Near the base of the tree are two cross-pieces; composed of bundles of spears, at the crossing of which is attached a scroll or label, with the motto, *Animis opibusque parati*—"Ready [to defend it] with our lives and property," which motto, by the way, is more generally put around the lower half of the outer circle, with the words "South Carolina" occupying the upper half, preceded by a single star. [The emblem (the palm) denotes superiority, victory, and triumph, and is, perhaps, the source of that deference which the state seems inclined to exact.]

SETTLED BY WILLIAM PENN, 1682.

On a white field is an escutcheon parted by a yellow or golden band or girdle, on which is represented a plough in its natural color. In the upper part of the shield, a ship under full sail is gliding smoothly over the waves of the sea, which are surmounted by an azure sky. At the lower part, on a green ground, are three golden sheaves of wheat, denoting that agriculture, as well as commerce, is one of the primary reliances of the state. On the right of the shield is a stalk of maize, and on the left an olive branch. For the crest, on a wreath of olive flowers, is perched a bald eagle, with wings extended, holding in its beak a label, with the motto, "Virtue, Liberty, and Independence." Around the margin of the seal are the words, "Seal of the State of Pennsylvania."

SETTLED BY THE ENGLISH, 1733.

In the centre of a circular white or silver field are three pillars, supporting an arch, around which are emblazoned the word "Constitution." The pillars are symbolical of the three departments of the state government — the Legislative, the Judiciary, and the Executive; and on the one at the right, representing the Legislative, is the word "Wisdom;" on the second, representing the Judiciary, is the word "Justice;" and on the third, representing the Executive, is the word "Moderation." Near the right pillar is the figure of an officer with a drawn sword, denoting that the aid of the military is always ready to enforce respect and obedience to law. Around the margin of the circle are the words, "State of Georgia. 1799."

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1791.

A circular field, in the middle of which is a tall evergreen with fourteen branches — thirteen representing the original states, and the fourteenth or topmost the state of Vermont supported by the others. Beneath a cloudless firmament, the Green Mountains are seen towering in the distance, and in the foreground are sheaves of wheat and a cow, indicative of an agricultural and grazing country, affording the true sources of thrift and independence for an industrious population. The Green Mountains have ever been considered characteristic of the hardy race which inhabits that region. Around the margin of the field, in Roman capitals, the word "Vermont" occupies the upper half-circle, and the words "Freedom and Unity" occupy the lower half.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1792.

Although the seal of this state is apparently and really among the most simple in its design, yet it embodies a significance which should commend itself to the serious consideration of all who are disposed to place a slight value upon the union of the states. In the centre of a circular white or silver field, two friends are seen grasping one hand of each other in a firm and cordial embrace, while the other is extended to each other's back, significant of encouragement and support. Below them is the expressive motto, "United we stand; divided we fall." An ornamented double circle encompasses the whole, with the words, "Seal of Kentucky" between the lines of the upper half-circle.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION; 1796.

A white or silver circular field, the upper half of which is occupied on the right by a plough, in the centre by a sheaf of wheat, and on the left by a stalk of cotton. Underneath these emblems, extending across the entire middle of the field, is the word "Agriculture," denoting that the first reliance of the state should be upon the productions of the soil. The lower half is occupied by a loaded barge, with the word "Commerce" below the water, indicating that the prosperity of all may be promoted through this means. Over the sheaf of wheat are the numeral letters XVI., denoting that this was the sixteenth state admitted into the Union. Around the border are the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Tennessee," with the date 1796, the period of the formation of the state government and admission into the Union.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1802.

In a circular field are several devices, significant of the general surface, business, and prospects of the state. The central portion represents a cultivated country, with the emblem of agriculture (a wheat-sheaf) on the right, and on the left a bundle of seventeen arrows, indicating the number of states then constituting the Union. In the distance is a range of mountains, the base skirted by a tract of woodland. The rising sun, which is just becoming visible above the mountains, betokens the rising glory of the state. The foreground is an expanse of water, with a keel-boat on its surface, indicative of inland trade. Around the border are the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Ohio," with the date, 1802—the year in which the state Constitution was formed, and of its admission into the Union.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1812.

On a white or silver circular field is represented a pelican standing by her nest filled with young ones, in the attitude of "protection and defence," and in the act of feeding them—all sharing alike her maternal assiduity. The mother-bird symbolizes the general government of the Union; while the birds in the nest represent the several states. Above are the scales of Justice, which, taken in connexion with the emblems beneath, signify that "equal and exact justice" must be extended to all the members of the confederacy. The semi-circle of eighteen stars indicates the number of states at the time of admission. In the upper portion of the external circle are the words, "State of Louisiana," and in the lower, the words, "Union and Confidence."

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1816.

In the lower portion of a circular field is represented a scene of prairie and woodland, with the surface gently undulating—descriptive of the predominant features of the state. In the foreground is a buffalo, an animal once abounding in great numbers in this region, apparently startled by the axe of the woodman or pioneer, who is seen on the left, felling the trees of the forest, denoting the march of civilization westward. In the distance, on the right, is seen the sun, just appearing above the verge of the horizon. In a half-circle, spanning the expressive scene beneath, are the words "Indiana State Seal." Around the outer margin of the whole is a plain green border, surrounded by a simple black line.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1817.

In the centre of a white or silver circular field is the American eagle, with wide-spread wings, occupying the entire surface: which may be considered as denoting that all the people of the state, from whatever clime or country they may have come, are purely American in feelings, and are content to repose their trust under the broad wings of the "bird of liberty." In the right talon of the eagle is a bundle of four arrows, significant of power to sustain the principles of government, and to repel the assaults of an enemy; while an olive branch in the left, betokens a disposition to maintain peace. Around the outer circle, between parallel lines, are the words, in Roman capitals, "The Great Seal of the State of Mississippi."

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1818.

In the centre of a white or silver escutcheon is a representation of the American eagle, its wings spread so as to touch the inner margin of the shield. In its right talon is the emblem of peace, an olive branch: while three arrows are grasped in the left, denoting its readiness to sustain the three great branches of government. On its breast is an escutcheon, the lower half of which is represented of a red color, and the upper half blue, the latter bearing three white or silver stars. From its beak extends a label, waving in the air above it, with the inscription "State Sovereignty: National Union." In the upper part of a circle enclosing the shield are the words, "Seal of the State of Illinois," and in the lower part the date, "Aug't 26, 1818."

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1819.

Nearly the entire of a circular field is occupied with the representation of a map, embracing the names and localities of the principal rivers and towns, as they existed at the time when the territorial government was established, 1817. A portion of East Florida, embracing the line of surface as far as Pensacola, is included in the map, as also a small portion of Tennessee, sufficient to show the boundaries on either side. Around the circle, between two parallel lines, are the words, in Roman capitals, "Alabama. Executive office." [This was the original seal designed for the territory, and it was afterwards adopted by the state on its admission into the Union, and has remained unchanged ever since that time.]

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1820.

A white or silver shield, on which is represented a pine-tree, with a moose-deer recumbent at its base—emblematical of the valuable timber of the state, and of the security and repose enjoyed by the animals which range its immense forests. The "supporters" are a mariner resting on his anchor, and a husbandman with his scythe—denoting that commerce and agriculture are each primary resources of the state.—Above the shield is the North Star, beneath which is the motto, *Dirigo*—"I direct;" and under the shield is the name of the state, in Roman capitals; while sea and land compose the foreground. On the left, the tall masts of a ship are perceptible in the distance, the sails spread, denoting a readiness for commercial enterprise.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1821.

On a circular shield, equally divided by a perpendicular line, is a red field on the right side, in which is the white or grizzly bear of Missouri. Above, separated by a wavy or curved line, is a white or silver crescent, in an azure field. On the left, on a white field, are the arms of the United States. A band surrounds the escutcheon, on which are the words, "United, we stand; divided, we fall." For the crest, over a yellow or golden helmet, full faced, and grated with six bars, is a silver star; and above it, a constellation of twenty-three smaller stars. The supporters are two grizzly bears standing on a scroll inscribed, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*—"The public safety is the supreme law." Underneath are the numerals MDCCCXX., and around the circle the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Missouri."

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1836.

Occupying the lower part of a circle is a shield, near the base of which is a white star on a blue field, representing the state. In the middle portion is a beehive, signifying industry, and a plough, denoting agriculture; while a steamboat, emblematic of commerce, fills the upper part. For the crest, the goddess of liberty is represented with her wand and cap in one hand, and a wreath of laurel in the other, surrounded by a constellation of stars, indicating the states. The supporters are two eagles, one grasping a bundle of arrows, and the other an olive branch; a label extending from the claw of each, with the motto *Regnant Populi*—"The People rule." On either side of the base is a cornucopia, and around the circle which encloses the whole are the words, "Seal of the State of Arkansas."

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1837.

On an escutcheon in the centre of a white field is the representation of a peninsula extending into a lake, a man with his gun, and the rising sun. On the upper part is the word *Tuebor*—"I will defend it;" and on a label extending across the lower part is the motto, *Si quæris peninsulam amœnam circumspice*—"If you seek a delightful country (peninsula), behold it." The supporters are a common deer on the right, and a moose on the left, both abounding in the forests of Michigan. For the crest, is the American eagle; above which, on a label waving above all, is the motto, *E pluribus unum*. Around the outer circle, between two parallel lines, are the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Michigan," and, "A. D. MDCCCXXXV."

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1845.

The seal which was originally used for the territory of Florida, although not formally adopted as that of the state, has been continued ever since, and of course retains all its legal force. In the centre of a circular white or silver field is represented the American eagle, "the bird of liberty," grasping the emblem of peace, an olive branch, in its left talon; and in its right a bundle of three arrows, significant of the three principal reliances of good government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. Above are arranged in a semi-circle thirteen stars, emblematic of the thirteen original states; and below, the ground is represented as covered with the prickly-pear, a fruit common to the country, and for which an appropriate motto would be, "Let me alone."

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1845.

Texas is the only state which enjoyed a literally independent or isolated existence previous to its admission into the Union. During its struggle with Mexico, it adopted as an official seal a white or silver star of five points on an azure field, encircled by branches of the live oak and olive. Around the outer circle were the words, "Republic of Texas," in Roman capital letters. With the exception of the words around the margin, which is now blank, except the word "Texas" in the upper half-circle, the former seal has been adopted since by the state. The live-oak (*quercus virens*), which abounds in the forests of Texas, is a strong and durable timber, much used in ship-building, and forming an important article of export.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1846.

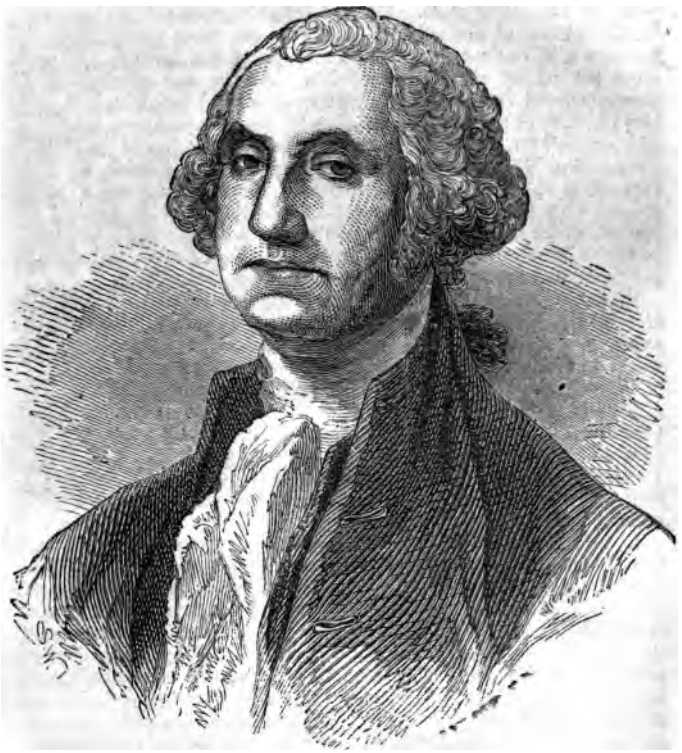
Like some of the other states which enjoyed a territorial existence for a length of time before they were invested with the dignity of states, Iowa still retains her original seal, the device of which is perhaps more simple and expressive than that of any other state. In the centre of a white or silver circular field is an eagle in the attitude of flight, grasping in his right talon a bow, its left talon just visible within the inner circle around the field, and holding in its beak a single arrow. The words, "Seal of the Territory of Iowa," form nearly a complete circle around the field, leaving a blank space at the lower part, and these again are surrounded by white circular dots, on a black ground.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1847.

A large portion of the field is occupied by land and water scenery, denoting the agricultural, commercial, and mining interests of the state. In the foreground is a man ploughing with a span of horses; in the middle is a pile of lead in bars, a barrel, a rake, a sheaf of wheat, an anchor, and a cornucopia. Lakes Michigan and Superior, are represented with a sloop on the former, and a steamboat on the latter, towards which an Indian on the shore is pointing. In the distance is a level prairie, skirted by a range of woodland—a light-house and school-house on the left, and the state-house in the centre. In a semi-circle above are the words *Civilitas successit Barbarum*—"Civilization has succeeded Barbarism." At the bottom is the date when a territorical government was formed, "Fourth of July, 1836;" and around the whole are the words "The Great Seal of the Territory of Wisconsin," which has not yet been changed.

ADMITTED INTO THE UNION, 1850.

In the foreground, on the left, Minerva is seated on a rock near the bank of an extensive bay or river, which winds its course among the majestic mountains on either side. Her spear is grasped in the right hand, while the left rests on the top of her shield by her side: near which is a grizzly bear, significant of the snowy region round about. On the right is a hardy miner with his pick, seeking the golden treasures secreted among the rocks. Along the centre is seen a majestic bay, with two clippers in full view, indicating that commerce is one of the chief reliances of the people. Above the snow-covered mountains, which bound the view, is the Greek word *Eureka*—"I have found;" and over all is a circle of silver stars.



GEORGE WASHINGTON,

THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE most exemplary character, perhaps, that ever adorned any era in history, and who received in his life-time the noble appellations of "the Founder of a Republic," and "the Father of his Country," was born in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, on the 22d day of February, 1732. His early instruction was domestic and scanty, but full of good discipline and sound principles; and as his father died when he was only ten years old, he had no subsequent opportunities for acquiring a thorough literary or scientific education. However, as his mind was naturally mathematical and philosophical, he prepared himself to be useful to his fellow-citizens as a civil engineer; and as the country was wild, and much of it then unsurveyed, he occasionally found agreeable and profitable employment in surveying different

parts of his native state. He also directed much of his attention to the science of arms, in the use of which every young man was instructed, in order to repel the incursions of the Indians, who were often led on by skillful Frenchmen. At the age of nineteen he was appointed one of the adjutant-generals of Virginia, which gave him the rank of major, and soon after he was advanced to a colonelcy, and sent by Gov. Dinwiddie to the Ohio with despatches to the French commander, who was erecting fortifications from Canada to New Orleans, in violation of existing treaties. The Governor was so much pleased with the faithful discharge of this duty, that he ordered his journal, which extended to only eighty days, to be printed; but, small as it was, it afforded evidence of great sagacity, fortitude, and a sound judgment, and firmly laid the foundation of his future fame.

In the spring of 1755, Washington was persuaded to accompany General Braddock as an aid, with the rank of colonel, in his disastrous expedition against Fort Du Quesne; and had his advice been followed on that occasion, the result would have been very different.

Three years afterwards (1758) Washington commanded the Virginians in another expedition against the fort, which terminated successfully. At the close of this campaign he left the army, and was soon after married to Mrs. Martha Custis, (the widow of Col. Daniel Parke Custis,) whose maiden name was Dandridge, and whose intelligent and patriotic conduct, as wife and widow, will ever be gratefully remembered in American annals.

In 1759 he was elected to the House of Burgesses, and continued to be returned to that body, with the exception of occasional intervals, until 1774, when he was sent to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress. His well-tempered zeal and his military skill, which enabled him to suggest the most proper means for national defence, if the country were urged to extremities, soon fixed all eyes upon him, as one well qualified to direct in the hour of peril; and accordingly, after the first scene of the revolutionary drama was opened at Lexington and Concord, and an army had concentrated at Cambridge, he was, on the 15th of June, 1775, unanimously appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces. The self-sacrificing spirit which governed his future course is too well known to require any elucidation.

After bringing the war to a successful termination, he hastened to Annapolis, where Congress were then in session, and on the 23d of December, 1783, formally resigned his commission.

In May, 1787, he was elected to the Convention which met at Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a Constitution, and was at once called upon to preside over its deliberations. After that admirable instrument was adopted by the people, he was unanimously elected the first President of the United States for four years; at the expiration of which, he was unanimously re-elected for a second term.

On the 12th of December, 1799, he was seized with an inflammation in the throat, which grew worse the next day, and terminated his life on the 14th, in the 68th year of his age.

JOHN ADAMS,

THE SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

And whose fame as a patriot and statesman is imperishable, was born at Braintree, Mass., October 19, 1735. He early displayed superior capacity for learning, and graduated at Cambridge college with great credit. After qualifying himself for the legal profession,

he was admitted to practice in 1761, and soon attained that distinction to which his talents were entitled. From the commencement of the troubles with Great Britain, in 1769, he was among the most active in securing the freedom of his country. Being elected to the first Continental Congress, he took a prominent part in all the war measures that were then originated; and subsequently suggested the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief of the army. He was one of the committee which reported the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the next year visited France as commissioner to form a treaty of alliance and commerce with that country. Although the object had been accomplished before his arrival, his visit had otherwise a favorable effect on the existing position of affairs; and he was afterwards appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, which, after many laborious and fruitless efforts, was finally accomplished in 1783. In 1785, he was sent to England as the first minister from this country, and on his return was elected first Vice-President, in which office he served two terms, and was then, in 1797, elected to succeed Washington as President. Many occurrences tended to embarrass his administration, and to render it unpopular; but it is now generally admitted to have been characterized by patriotism and vigor equal to the emergencies which then existed. His political opponents, however, managed to defeat his re-election, and he was succeeded in the presidency by Mr. Jefferson, in 1801; after which, he retired to his farm at Quincy, where his declining years were passed in the gratification of his unabated love for reading and contemplation, and where he was constantly cheered by an interesting circle of friendship and affection. The semi-centennial anniversary of American Independence (July 4, 1826,) was remarkable, not merely for the event which it commemorated, but for the decease of two of the most active participants in the measures by which independence was achieved. On that day, Adams and Jefferson were both gathered to their fathers, within about four hours of each other, "cheered by the benediction of their country, to whom they left the inheritance of their fame, and the memory of their bright example."

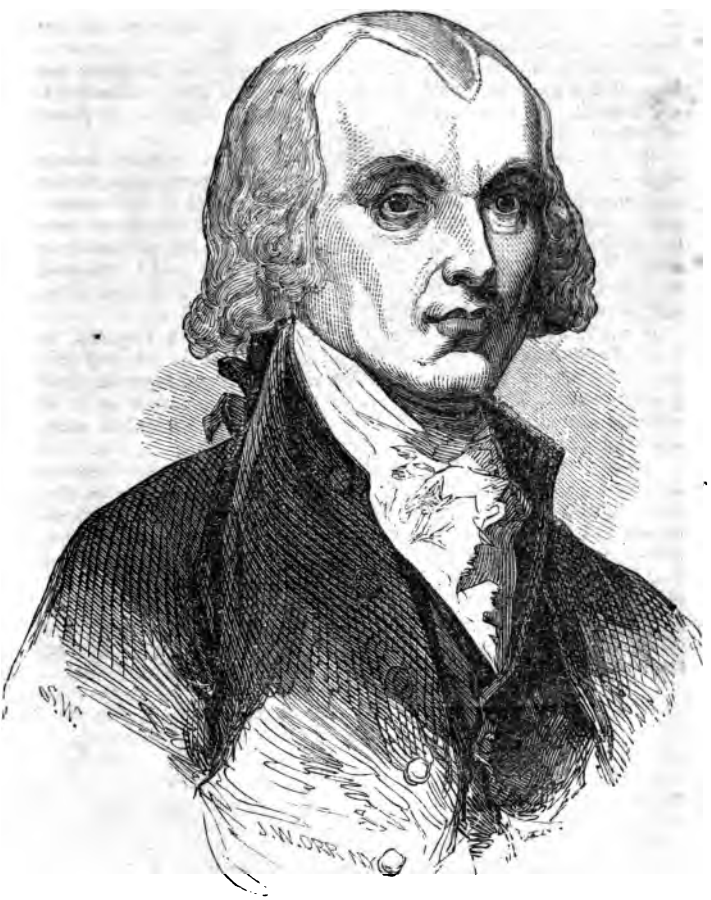
As has been noticed elsewhere, Mr. Adams deemed it prudent, in the early part of his administration, when impending difficulties with France seemed to render war inevitable, to offer Washington the commission of lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the army, which he accepted as a matter of duty, and held until his death, but fortunately never found it necessary to take the field.

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

THE THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Shadwell, Albemarle county, Va., (near Monticello, the seat where he died,) April 13, 1743. He was educated at William and Mary's college, and graduated with distinction when quite young. He was a great lover of learning, and particularly of natural philosophy. With the celebrated George Wythe, he commenced the study of the law, and became a favorite pupil. Mr. Jefferson was never distinguished as an advocate, but was considered a good lawyer. Soon after he came to

the bar, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses, and in that body was duly appreciated for his learning and aptitude for business. He at once took fire at British oppression; and in 1774, he employed his pen in discussing the whole course of the British ministry. The work was admired, and made a text-book by his countrymen. In June, 1775, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, from Virginia. In this body he soon became conspicuous, and was considered a firm friend to American liberty. In 1776, he was chosen chairman of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence. This instrument is nearly all his own, and was sanctioned by his coadjutors with few alterations. In 1778, Mr. Jefferson was appointed ambassador to France, to form a treaty with that government, but ill health prevented his accepting of this office. He succeeded Patrick Henry, in 1779, as Governor of Virginia, and continued in that station two years. In 1781, he composed his notes on Virginia. In 1783, he was sent to France, to join the ministers of our country, Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin. In 1785, he succeeded Dr. Franklin as ambassador, and continued performing the duties of that office for two years, when he retired, and returned home. In 1789, he was made secretary of state, under Washington, in which situation he was highly distinguished for his talents. This station he resigned in 1793, and retired to private life. In 1797, he was elected Vice-President of the United States, and took his seat as President of the Senate, on the following 4th of March. In 1801, he was elected President of the United States, which office he held for eight years. After completing his second term, he retired to private life, in which he spent his days in philosophical pursuits, until the 4th of July, 1826, when he expired, just fifty years after penning the Declaration of Independence. His course was one of his own. Never lived there a politician, who did more than Thomas Jefferson, to bring his fellow-citizens to his own opinions.



JAMES MADISON,

THE FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Orange county, Va., March 16, 1751. His studies, preparatory to entering Princeton College, were pursued under the most favorable circumstances, he being provided with the most accomplished instructors, and he graduated with high honor in 1771. On

returning to Virginia, he zealously commenced the study of the law, which he subsequently abandoned for political life.

In 1776, he was elected to the General Assembly of Virginia; and from this period, for more than forty years, he was continually in office, serving his state and his country in various capacities, from that of a state legislator to that of President.

In 1778, he was elected by the legislature to the executive council of the state, where he rendered important aid to Henry and Jefferson, governors of Virginia, during the time he held a seat in the council; and by his probity of character, faithfulness in the discharge of duty, and amiableness of deportment, he won the approbation of these great men. In the winter of 1779–80, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, and became immediately an active and leading member, as the journal of that body abundantly testifies.

In 1784, '5, '6, he was a member of the legislature of Virginia. In 1787, he became a member of the Convention held in Philadelphia, for the purpose of preparing a Constitution for the government of the United States. Perhaps no member of that body had more to do with the formation of that noble instrument, the "Constitution of the United States of America," than Mr. Madison.

It was during the recess between the proposition of the Constitution by the Convention of 1787, and its adoption by the states, that that celebrated work, "The Federalist," made its appearance. This is known to be the joint production of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. This same year he was elected to Congress, and held his seat until the Continental Congress passed away among the things that were. He was a member of the state convention of Virginia which met to adopt the Constitution, and on the establishment of the new Congress under the Constitution, he was chosen a member, retaining his seat until the close of Washington's administration.

In 1801, as one of the presidential electors, he had the gratification of voting for his illustrious friend Jefferson, who immediately offered him a place in his cabinet, which was accepted. Accordingly he entered on the discharge of his duties as Secretary of State, which duties he continued to perform during the whole of Mr. Jefferson's administration, and on the retirement of that great statesman, in 1809, he succeeded to the Presidency, in which office he served two terms.

Mr. Madison then retired to his peaceful home in Virginia, where he passed the remainder of his days in favorite pastimes, loved by the many and respected by all, until the 28th day of June, 1826, when the last survivor of the framers of our Constitution was gathered to his fathers, full of years and glory.

JAMES MONROE,

THE FIFTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

One of the few exalted characters that served his country in both a civil and military capacity, was born in Westmoreland county, Va., April 28, 1758, and was educated at William and Mary's college, whence he graduated in 1776, and commenced the study of the law. Anxious to aid in the struggle for independence, which had then just began, he abandoned his studies, and entered the army as a cadet—joining a corps under the gallant General Mercer. He soon distinguished himself in several well-fought battles, and rapid promotion

followed, until he reached the rank of captain. He was at Harlem Heights and White Plains, and shared the perils and fatigues of the distressing retreat of Washington through New Jersey, as well as the glory of the victory over the Hessians at Trenton, where he received a musket-ball in the shoulder; notwithstanding which, he valiantly "fought out the fight." He subsequently accepted the post of an aid to Lord Stirling, with the rank of major, in which position he saw much hard service—being engaged in almost every conflict for the two succeeding campaigns, and displaying great courage and coolness at the bloody battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

Aspiring to a separate command, he obtained permission to raise a regiment in his native state; for which purpose he left the army, and returned to Virginia, where he encountered so many unexpected and discouraging obstacles, that he finally relinquished the enterprise, and resumed his law studies in the office of Mr. Jefferson.

In 1780 he was elected to the Virginia legislature, and in the following year was made one of Governor Jefferson's council, in which he continued until 1783, when, at the age of twenty-four years, he became a member of the Continental Congress. After serving three years in that body, he was again returned to the state legislature.

In 1788, while a member of the Convention to decide upon the adoption of the new Constitution, he voted in the minority against that instrument; but this vote did not at all affect his popularity. Two years afterwards he was elected United States' senator, and in 1794 he was sent envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles. After settling the cession of Louisiana to the United States, he went to England to succeed Mr. King as minister at the court of St. James. The affair of the frigate Chesapeake placing him in an uncomfortable situation, he returned to the United States, and, in 1810, was once more elected to the Virginia legislature. He was soon after chosen governor of that state, in which office he remained until Mr. Madison called him to assume the duties of Secretary of State in his cabinet. In 1817, he was elected President of the United States, and in 1821 was unanimously re-elected, with the exception of a single vote in New Hampshire. His administration was a prosperous and quiet one.

He united with Jefferson and Madison in founding the university of Virginia; and when the convention was formed for the revision of the constitution of his state, he was called to preside over its action. Not long after this, he went to reside with a beloved daughter (the wife of Samuel L. Gouverneur, Esq.) in New York city, where he lived until the anniversary of independence in 1831, when, "amidst the pealing joy and congratulations of that proud day, he passed quietly and in glory away."

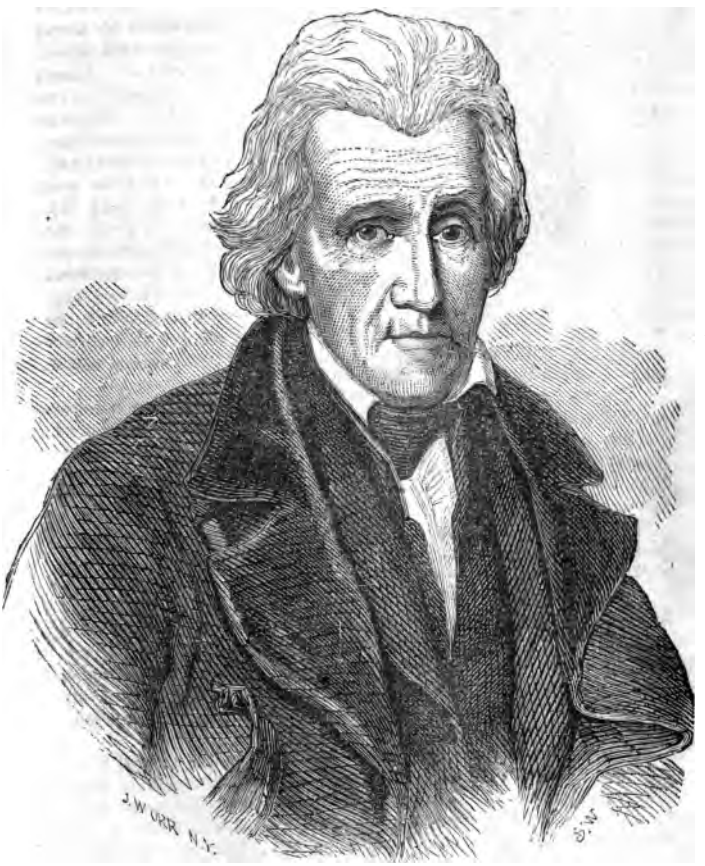
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

THE SIXTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Quincy, Mass., July 11, 1767, and received the advantages of a pretty thorough education before entering Harvard college, which was not until the year 1786. After graduating with marked credit, he commenced the study of law at Newburyport, in the

office of the Hon. Theophilus Parsons, for many years afterwards chief justice of Massachusetts. While pursuing his studies he found leisure to write several newspaper essays, which attracted much attention, and displayed a maturity of taste and judgment seldom attained so early in life. In 1794 Washington appointed him minister to the Netherlands, and subsequently transferred him to Portugal. He was afterwards, at different periods, minister to Prussia, Russia, and England; and was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace with Great Britain at Ghent in 1815. In 1817 he was appointed Secretary of State, in which office he continued during Mr. Monroe's administration, eight years; when he was elected by the House of Representatives President of the United States—the people having failed in making a choice. Like his father, he encountered strong opposition, and only served one term in this office, being defeated in a re-election by General Jackson. He then retired to his farm at Quincy, but did not long remain in private life; for two years afterwards, he was chosen representative in Congress, and continued to be re-elected until his death, which occurred in the capitol at Washington, February 23, 1848. Two days previous to this sad event, while engaged in his duties in the House of Representatives, he received a paralytic stroke, which apparently deprived him of all consciousness. He was borne to the Speaker's room, where he received every attention that could be bestowed by anxious and devoted friends, but all in vain—his hour was come. The last words he was heard to utter were, "This is the last of earth!"

Mr. Adams was a man of rare gifts and rich acquisitions. A diligent student, and economical of his time, he found opportunity, amidst all his public cares, to cultivate his tastes for literature and the sciences. He was one of the finest classical and belles-lettres scholars of his time, and filled the chair of Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in Harvard college for several years. Even in his old age, he often astonished his hearers with the elegant classical allusions and rhetorical tropes with which he enriched and embellished his own productions.



ANDREW JACKSON,

THE SEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

A STATESMAN of rare integrity, and a general of invincible skill and courage, was born at Waxhaw, Lancaster county. S. C., in 1767, and while yet a mere lad, did something towards achieving the independence of his country. It is said that he commenced his military career at the age of fourteen years, and was soon after taken prisoner, together with an elder brother. During his captivity, he was ordered

by a British officer to perform some menial service, which he promptly refused, and for this refusal he was "severely wounded with the sword which the Englishman disgraced." He was educated for the bar, and commenced practice at Nashville, Tenn., but relinquished his legal pursuits to "gain a name in arms." In the early part of the war of 1812, Congress having voted to accept fifty thousand volunteers, General Jackson appealed to the militia of Tennessee, when twenty-five hundred enrolled their names, and presented themselves to Congress, with Jackson at their head. They were accepted, and ordered to Natchez, to watch the operations of the British in lower Mississippi. Not long after, he received orders from head-quarters, to disband his men, and send them to their homes. To obey, he foresaw, would be an act of great injustice to his command, and reflect disgrace on the country, and he resolved to disobey. He accordingly broke up his camp, and returned to Nashville, bringing all his sick with him, whose wants on the way he relieved with his private means, and there disbanded his troops in the midst of their homes.

He was soon called to the field once more, and his commission marked out his course of duty on the field of Indian warfare. Here for years he labored, and fought, and diplomatized, with the most consummate wisdom and undaunted courage. It was about this time that the treaty of the "Hickory Ground" occurred, which gave him the familiar sobriquet of "Old Hickory."

The crowning glory of his whole military career was the battle of New Orleans; which will ever occupy one of the brightest pages in American history.

At the close of the war he returned to his home in Nashville; but in 1818 was again called on by his country to render his military services in the expulsion of the Seminoles. His conduct during this campaign has been both bitterly condemned and highly applauded. An attempt in the House of Representatives to inflict a censure on the old hero for the irregularities of this campaign, after a long and bitter debate, was defeated by a large majority.

In 1828, and again in 1832, General Jackson was elected to fill the presidential chair; thus occupying that elevated position for eight successive years. He then retired to his hospitable mansion ("The Hermitage") near Nashville, "loaded with wealth and honors, bravely won," where he continued to realize all the enjoyments that are inseparable from a well-spent life, until death translated him to those higher rewards, which "earth can neither give nor take away." He died June 8, 1845, and his last hours were soothed by a trustful reliance on the Saviour of the world for salvation.

MARTIN VAN BUREN,

THE EIGHTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in the flourishing town of Kinderhook, New York, September 5, 1782, and early received the best education that could then be obtained in the schools in his immediate vicinity. Having sufficiently prepared himself for the study of law, he entered the office of Francis Sylvester, in his native town, where he remained about six

years. But law did not engross his whole time: he found leisure occasionally to peer into the mysteries of political economy, and finally arrived at the conclusion that his chances for fame and fortune were at least equal in the arena of politics to anything he might accomplish by a strict adherence to legal pursuits. Fully impressed with this idea, he early set about cultivating what little popularity could be gained in his limited sphere, and so won upon the confidence of his neighbors and friends as to be appointed, while yet in his *teens*, a delegate to a convention in his native county, in which important political measures were to be acted upon.

In 1808 he was appointed surrogate of Columbia county, the first public office he ever held; and in 1812 and 1816 he was elected to the state senate, in which body he became a distinguished leader of the Madison party, and one of its most eloquent supporters.

In 1821 he was elected to the United States Senate, in which he held his seat for nearly eight years, and became remarkable not only for his close attention to business, but also for his devotion to the great principles of the democratic party.

In 1828 he was elected Governor of his native state, and entered upon the duties of that office on the first of January, 1829; but he filled the gubernatorial chair for only a few weeks. In March following, when General Jackson was elevated to the Presidency, he tendered Mr. Van Buren the post of Secretary of State, which was accepted. At the expiration of two years he resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and was immediately appointed minister to England; but when his nomination was submitted to the Senate, (June 25, 1831,) it was rejected by the casting vote of the Vice-President, (Mr. Calhoun,) and of course he was recalled. As his friends attributed his rejection entirely to personal and political rancor, it only served to raise Mr. Van Buren in the estimation of his political adherents; and the result was, that in May following he was nominated with great unanimity for the Vice-Presidency by the Democratic Convention at Baltimore. His triumphant election was regarded not merely as a high compliment to himself, but as a wholesome rebuke to his opponents.

In 1836 he was put in nomination for the chief magistracy, to which he was elected by a large majority over General Harrison; but at the next Presidential election, the tables were turned, and he only received sixty votes out of two hundred and ninety-four.

After his defeat, he returned to Kinderhook, where he remained some time, and then visited Europe, with one of his sons, whose restoration to health was the principal object of his journey.

Not long after his return, he consented to become once more a candidate for the Presidency, and in 1848 received the nomination of the Free-soil party; but he did not secure a single electoral vote. Since then, he has had little to do with political affairs; yet it has been recently manifested that his opinions have undergone some modification, and he is now avowedly favorable to the election of the democratic nominee, James Buchanan, to the office of President.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,

THE NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Charles City county, Va., February 9, 1773, and was educated for the medical profession at Hampden Sydney college. He graduated at a time when our north-western frontier was suffering

much from the neighboring Indians; and believing that he could be of greater service in repelling the savage invaders than in pursuing his studies, he accepted an ensign's commission from President Washington, and joined the army. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1792, and his skill and bravery were highly commended by General Wayne, under whose command he was engaged in several actions. After the bloody battle of Miami Rapids, he was rewarded with the rank of captain, and immediately placed in command of Fort Washington. In 1797 he resigned his commission, for the purpose of accepting the office of secretary of the North-west Territory, from which he was elected a delegate to Congress in 1799.

When a territorial government was formed for Indiana, he was appointed the first governor, and continued in that office till 1813. To his civil and military duties he added those of commissioner and superintendent of Indian affairs; and, in the course of his administration, he concluded thirteen important treaties with the different tribes. On the 7th of November, 1811, he gained the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe, the news of which was received throughout the country with a burst of enthusiasm. During the war of 1812 he was made commander of the north-western army of the United States, and he bore a conspicuous part in the leading events in the campaign of 1812–13, the defence of Fort Meigs, and the victory of the Thames. In 1814, he was appointed, in conjunction with his companions in arms, Governor Shelby and General Cass, to treat with the Indians in the north-west, at Greenville; and, in the following year, he was placed at the head of a commission to treat with various other important tribes.

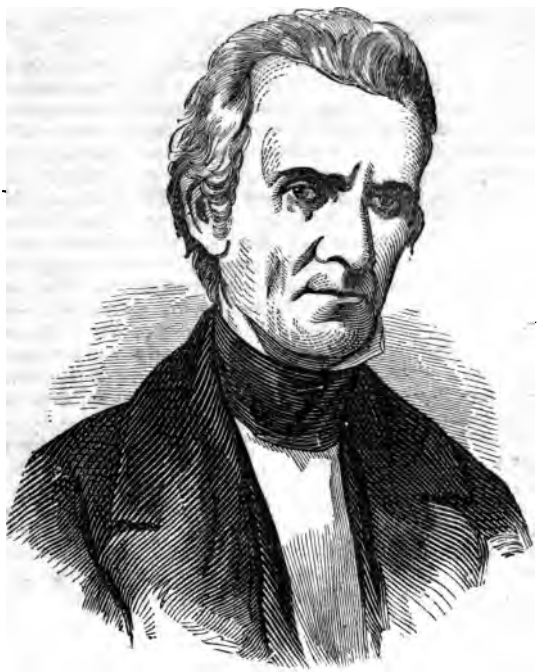
In 1816, he was elected a member of Congress from Ohio; and, in 1828, he was sent minister plenipotentiary to the republic of Colombia. On his return, he took up his residence at North Bend, on the Ohio, where he lived upon his farm, in comparative retirement, till 1837, when he became a candidate for the Presidency; and although defeated on the first trial, four years afterwards he was elected by a large majority, and inaugurated in 1845. But he did not long survive this crowning honor, as he died on the 4th of April, just one month after entering upon his duties. His funeral obsequies were performed on the 7th, and an immense concourse assembled to pay their testimony of respect. Funeral services and processions also took place in most of the principal cities throughout the country. As General Harrison was the first President who died while in office, his successor, Mr. Tyler, recommended that the 14th of May be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, and accordingly it was so observed.

JOHN TYLER,

THE SUCCESSOR OF GEN. HARRISON AS PRESIDENT,

Was born at Williamsburg, Va., March 29, 1790, and at the age of twelve years entered William and Mary's college, where he graduated with distinguished merit five years afterwards. Few have commenced life at so early a period as Mr. Tyler—he having been admitted to the bar when only nineteen, and elected to the Virginia legislature before attaining his twenty-second year. In 1816 he was sent to Congress; in 1825, elected Governor of Virginia, and in 1827 became United States senator; in which capacity he firmly supported the administration of General Jackson—voting against the tariff bill of 1828, and against re-chartering the United States Bank. Notwith-

standing this last vote, the friends of the bank, presuming upon his well-known conservatism, at the special session of Congress called by his predecessor, introduced a bill for the establishment of the "Fiscal Bank of the United States," which passed both houses by small majorities, and which Mr. Tyler felt bound to veto. But this did not dishearten the friends of the measure, who modified and rechristened their financial plan, which, under the name of "Fiscal Corporation of the United States," again passed both houses of Congress, and was again vetoed by the President. Of course, a large portion of the party that elected him were greatly dissatisfied with his course, and their denunciations of his alleged faithlessness were "loud and deep." To add to the embarrassments which were accumulating around him, the members of his Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, resigned their places; but even this implied rebuke did not shake his integrity of purpose. An equally efficient phalanx of talent was called to his aid, and he had the satisfaction of seeing that his views were endorsed by a large number of leading statesmen. It has been often asserted that Mr. T. had pledged himself to sustain the financial schemes of the bank and its friends; but this has always been denied, and circumstances certainly warrant the conclusion that the assertion is unfounded. So gross and bitter were the assaults made upon him, that he felt called upon to defend himself from their violence; and, after declaring his determination to do his duty, regardless of party ties, he said: "I appeal from the vituperation of the present day to the pen of impartial History, in confidence that neither my motives nor my acts will bear the interpretation which, for sinister motives, has been placed upon them." On the expiration of his official term, he retired to his estate at Williamsburg, where he still continues to reside, secure in the respect of a large circle of friends, and far aloof from the troublous vortex of political life.



JAMES KNOX POLK,

THE TENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Mecklenburg, N. C., November 2, 1795, and there received the rudiments of his early education. In 1806 his father removed to Nashville, Tenn., taking his family with him, and here it was that Mr. Polk pursued those preliminary studies which were requisite to qualify him for the legal profession. After due preparation, he entered the office of the Hon. Felix Grundy, under whose able instruction he made such rapid progress, that he was admitted to practice in 1820. His duties at the bar did not prevent him from taking part in the political affairs of the day; and in this sphere his

comprehensive views and zealous devotion to democracy soon secured him a widely-extended popularity, which resulted in his election to the legislature of Tennessse in 1823. In 1825, while yet in his thirtieth year, he was chosen a member of Congress, in which body he remained fourteen years—being honored with the Speakership for several sessions. So well satisfied were his constituents with his congressional course, that he was elected Governor by a large majority, but some questions of local policy subsequently defeated his re-election.

In 1844 he was unexpectedly nominated for the office of President of the United States by the Democratic Convention at Baltimore; and, having received sixty-five electoral votes more than his rival candidate, Mr. Clay, he was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845.

Soon after Mr. Polk assumed the reins of government, the country became involved in a war with Mexico, which was little more than a series of victories wherever the American banner was displayed, and which resulted in important territorial acquisitions. The ostensible ground for this war, on the part of Mexico, was the admission of Texas into the Union, which was one of the first acts of Mr. Polk's administration. The Mexicans, however, paid dearly for asserting their frivolous claims to Texas as a revolted province, and the prompt and energetic course pursued by Mr. Polk was sanctioned and sustained by a large majority of the people.

But notwithstanding the advantageous issue of the war, the acquisition of Texas, and the satisfactory settlement of several vexed questions of long standing, Mr. Polk was not nominated for a second term—various extraneous matters leading to the selection of another candidate. Perhaps it was fortunate for the country and for himself that he was permitted to retire to the more congenial enjoyment of private life; for his health had become very much impaired, and he did not long survive after reaching his home in Nashville. He died June 15, 1849.

ZACHARY TAYLOR,

THE ELEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born in Orange county, Va., November 24, 1790, and, after receiving an indifferent education, passed a considerable portion of his boyhood amid the stirring scenes which were being enacted at that time on our western border. In 1808 he was appointed a lieutenant

in the United States infantry, and subsequently was promoted to a captaincy for his efficient services against the Indians. Soon after the declaration of war in 1812 he was placed in command of Fort Harrison, which he so gallantly defended with a handful of men against the attack of a large body of savages, as to win the brevet rank of major. So familiar did he become with the Indian character, and with the mode of warfare of that wily foe, that his services at the West and South were deemed indispensable in the subjugation and removal of several hostile tribes. While effecting these desirable objects, he was occasionally rewarded for his toils and sacrifices by gradual promotion, and in 1840 attained the rank of brigadier-general. At the commencement of the troubles with Mexico, in 1845, he was ordered to occupy a position on the American side of the Rio Grande, but not to cross that river unless attacked by the Mexicans. He was not, however, allowed to remain long in repose: the enemy, by attacking Fort Brown, which he had built on the Rio Grande, opposite Matamoras, soon afforded him an opportunity to display his skill and valor, and gloriously did he improve it. The brilliant battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, where he contended successfully against fearful odds, were precursors to a series of victories which have few parallels in military annals. The attack on Matamoras, the storming of Monterey, the sanguinary contest at Buena Vista, and the numerous skirmishes in which he was engaged, excited universal admiration; and on his return home, after so signally aiding to "conquer a peace" with Mexico, he was everywhere received with the most gratifying demonstrations of respect and affection. In 1848 General Taylor received the nomination of the whig party for the office of President of the United States, and, being elected, was inaugurated the year following. But the cares and responsibilities of this position were greater than his constitution could endure, hardened as it had been both in Indian and civilized warfare. After the lapse of little more than a year from the time he entered upon his new career, he sunk under its complicated trials, and his noble spirit sought refuge in a more congenial sphere, July 9, 1850.

MILLARD FILLMORE,

THE SUCCESSOR OF GEN. TAYLOR, AS PRESIDENT,

Was born at Summer Hill, Cayuga county, N.Y., January 7, 1800, and did not enjoy the advantages of any other education than what he derived from the then inefficient common schools of the county. At an early age he was sent into the wilds of Livingston county to learn a trade, and here he soon attracted the attention of a friend, who placed him in a lawyer's office—thus opening a new, and what was destined to be a most honorable and distinguished career. In 1827 he was admitted as an attorney, and two years afterwards as counsellor in the Supreme Court. Soon attracting attention, he

established himself at Buffalo, where his talents and business habits secured him an extended practice.

His first entrance into public life was in January, 1829, when he took his seat as a member of the Assembly from Erie county. At this time he distinguished himself for his untiring opposition to imprisonment for debt, and to this are the people indebted in a great degree for the expunging of this relic of barbarism from the statute book. Having gained a high reputation for legislative capacity, in 1833 he was elected a member of the national House of Representatives; and on the assembling of the Twenty-seventh Congress, to which he was re-elected by a larger majority than was ever given to any person in his district, he was placed in the arduous position of Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. The measures he brought forward and sustained with matchless ability, speedily relieved the government from its existing pecuniary embarrassments. In 1847 he was elected Comptroller of the state of New York by a larger majority than had been given to any state office for many years. In 1848 he was selected as candidate for Vice-President, General Taylor heading the ticket. On his election to that high office, he resigned his position as Comptroller, and entered upon his duties as President of the United States Senate. The courtesy, ability, and dignity exhibited by him, while presiding over the deliberations of that body, received general commendation. Upon the sudden death of General Taylor, he became President, and promptly selected a cabinet, distinguished for its ability, patriotism, and devotion to the Union, and possessing in an eminent degree the confidence of the country.

After serving out the constitutional term, Mr. Fillmore returned to Buffalo, and again resumed those pursuits which had prepared the way to the elevated position from which he had just retired. He was welcomed home by troops of friends, with whom he still continues to enjoy an unabated popularity.

It should be borne in mind by every aspiring young man, that Mr. Fillmore is entirely indebted to his own exertions for his success in life. From a very humble origin, he attained the highest office in the world, climbing the rugged steep of fame step by step, with indefatigable industry and untiring perseverance, until he at length gained the summit, where he is long likely to enjoy his well-earned position.

FRANKLIN PIERCE,

THE TWELFTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

Was born at Hillsborough, N. H., November 23, 1804, and early received the advantage of a liberal education. After going through a regular collegiate course at Bowdoin college, which he entered at the age of sixteen, he became a law student in the office of Judge Woodbury at Portsmouth, whence he was transferred to the law school at

Northampton, where he remained two years, and then finished his studies with Judge Parker at Amherst. Although his rise at the bar was not rapid, by degrees he attained the highest rank as a lawyer and advocate.

In 1829 he was elected to represent his native town in the state legislature, where he served four years, during the two last of which he held the speakership, and discharged the duties with universal satisfaction.

From 1833 to 1837 he represented his state in Congress, and was then elected to the United States Senate, having barely reached the requisite age to qualify him for a seat in that body.

In 1834 he married Miss Jane Means, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Appleton, formerly President of Bowdoin college—soon after which, he removed to Concord, where he still holds a residence. He was re-elected at the expiration of his senatorial term, but resigned his seat the year following, for the purpose of devoting himself exclusively to his legal business, which had become so extensive as to require all his attention.

In 1846 he declined the office of Attorney-General, tendered to him by President Polk; but when the war with Mexico broke out, he was active in raising the New England regiment of volunteers; and afterwards accepted the commission of brigadier-general, with which he at once repaired to the field of operations, where he distinguished himself in several hard-fought battles. At Cerro-Gordo and at Chapultapec he displayed an ardor in his country's cause which extorted praise from his most inveterate political opponents; and on his return home he was everywhere received with gratifying evidences that his services were held in grateful remembrance by the people.

At the Democratic Convention held in Baltimore in 1852, after trying in vain to concentrate their votes on a more prominent candidate, that body unexpectedly nominated General Pierce for the office of President of the United States, to which he was elected by an unprecedented majority over his rival, General Scott—receiving 254 votes out of 296. He was duly inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1853, and his administration has been more remarkable for its futile attempts to reconcile conflicting interests, than for the achievement of any particular measure of great public utility. However, it will better become his future than his present biographer to "speak of him as he is; nor aught extenuate, nor aught set down in malice."

MILLARD FILLMORE,

THE AMERICAN NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT

HAVING already given, on page 117, a biographical sketch of this gentleman, embracing the prominent events of his career until he retired from the office for which he has again been nominated, it now only remains to add a few incidents of more recent occurrence.

In 1855 Mr. Fillmore visited Europe, partly as a matter of relaxation, and partly for the purpose of making himself better acquainted

by personal observation with its diversified countries and institutions. During his absence abroad, the American National Convention met at Philadelphia, and nominated him as their candidate for President, which nomination he promptly accepted, although not strictly a member of that political organization.

On returning to this country, the enthusiasm with which he was everywhere greeted, while it must have been particularly grateful to his feelings, at the same time evinced his popularity with a large portion of the people. He landed in New York on the 25th of June, and was warmly welcomed by a committee on the part of the city authorities, by a delegation from Philadelphia, by committees representing various popular organizations, and by thousands of the most respectable private citizens. In reply to the speech of Mayor Wood, tendering him the hospitalities of the city, and complimenting him on his "national" and "conservative" character as a public man, Mr. Fillmore thus happily alluded to the intimate connection which existed between the prosperity of New York and the American Constitution:

"The Constitution of the United States has brought New York into greatness by concentrating here the commerce and exchanges of all our confederated states. To preserve that concentration, and that greatness, there must be absence of all internal strife— there must be peace, and friendship for, and confidence in New York, from all the parts of these confederated states. But deprive your great and growing city of them, and of the protection the Constitution gives its trade and commerce, and its fate soon would be that of Venice, whose deserted streets and canals I have but so recently surveyed. England has now the control of the commerce of the world, through London, her great commercial city. I venture to prophecy that ere many years elapse, those who are now within the sound of my voice will, under the protection of the Constitution, see that New York will be to the world what London is."

The numerous towns and cities through which Mr. Fillmore passed, on his way to Buffalo, vied with each other in rendering homage to his worth; and for all these courtesies he not only tendered his grateful acknowledgments, but also foreshadowed the course he should pursue if elected to the Presidency. In a speech at Rochester, he said:

"I can give no pledge for the future that is not found in my past conduct. If you wish a chief magistrate to administer the Constitution and laws impartially and in every part of the Union, giving to every state and every territory and every citizen his just due, without fear or favor, then you may cast your votes for me. I repeat here, what I have said elsewhere, that if there be those at the North who want a President to rule the South—if there be those at the South who want a President who will rule the North—I do not want their votes. I can never represent them. I stand upon the broad platform of the Constitution and the laws. If I should be called upon to administer the government, the Constitution and laws of the country shall be executed, at every hazard and at every cost."

ANDREW JACKSON DONELSON,

THE AMERICAN NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

THIS gentleman is no stranger in political circles, having been in public life more or less for the last thirty years. He was born at Nashville, Tenn., August 25, 1800, and was received into the family of General Jackson at the tender age of five years, having had the misfortune to lose his father (who was a brother-in-law of the General's) about that time. He was prepared at the Nashville college for enter-

ing the Military Academy at West Point, where he graduated at the age of nineteen, and entered the corps of engineers as lieutenant.

He accompanied General Jackson as an aid-de-camp when he received the surrender of Florida from the Spaniards, which position he resigned in 1822, and qualified himself for the bar. After attending law lectures at the Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., he again became an inmate in the family of his foster-father, and contributed not a little by his pen and counsels to the subsequent elevation of the old hero, who, after entering upon his duties as President, appointed Mr. Donelson his private secretary. At the expiration of the General's second term, he returned with him to Nashville, where he continued for several years to assist him in the management of his correspondence, which was still extensive and onerous.

In 1844 Mr. Donelson became conspicuous for the active part he took in discussing the Texas question—the great issue at that time between Mr. Clay and Mr. Polk; and, at the earnest desire of Mr. Tyler, then President, he undertook to bring that state into our Union —an object which he accomplished in a manner highly satisfactory to the friends of that measure.

Under the administration of Mr. Polk, he served some time as minister to Prussia, and was afterwards transferred to Austria, from whence he was recalled by General Taylor towards the latter part of 1849.

In 1850 he attended the famous Southern Convention at Nashville, as a Union man—alleging that if propositions to dissever the confederacy were brought forward in that body, they ought to be exposed and denounced to the country.

His decided course as a friend to the Compromise measures of 1850 induced some of the Democratic leaders to secure his services as editor of the Washington *Union;* but as he failed to accomplish impossibilities—to unite the ultraists of the North and South—he retired from this position at the commencement of the last Presidential campaign.

The policy early indicated by President Pierce, in the formation of his Cabinet, was not such as Mr. Donelson could approve, and he forthwith became an active member of the American party, whose cause he has since zealously supported.

PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN PARTY.

I. An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being who rules the universe, for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence and the union of these states.

II. The perpetuation of the Federal Union, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwark of American independence.

III. *Americans must rule America*, and to this end, *native*-born citizens should be selected for all state, federal or municipal offices or government employment, in preference to naturalized citizens—*nevertheless*,

IV. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad, shall be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens; but

V. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognises any alliance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate or power, who refuses to recognise the federal and state constitutions (each within its sphere), as paramount to all other laws, as rules of particular action.

VI. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several states, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good-will between the citizens of the several states, and to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual states, and non-intervention by each state with the affairs of any other state.

VII. The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the right of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one representative in Congress. *Provided always*, that none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have fixed residence in any such territory, ought to participate in the formation of the constitution, or in the enactment of laws for said territory or state.

VIII. An enforcement of the principle that no state or territory can admit others than native-born citizens to the right of suffrage, or of holding political office, unless such persons shall have been naturalized according to the laws of the United States.

IX. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime from landing on our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

X. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with the religious faith or worship, and no test oaths for office, except those indicated in the 5th section of this platform.

XI. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

XII. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

XIII. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and consevatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cowardly bravado towards the weaker powers; as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the removal of Judge Bronson from the Collectorship of New York upon false and untenable grounds; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the governments; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

XIV. Therefore, to remedy existing evils, and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated, eschewing all sectional questions, and uniting upon those purely national, and admitting into said party all American citizens (referred to in the 3d, 4th, and 5th sections) who openly avow the principles and opinions heretofore expressed, and who will subscribe their names to this platform.—*Provided, nevertheless,* that a majority of those members present at any meeting of a local council where an applicant applies for membership in the American party, may, for any reason by them deemed sufficient, deny admission to such applicant.

XV. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

JAMES BUCHANAN,

THE DEMOCRATIC OMINEE FOR PRESIDENT.

For the high position he has so long maintained in the political affairs of this country, Mr. Buchanan is not alone indebted to his early and thorough education, but his entire devotion to whatever he undertakes, and his perseverance in surmounting obstacles which would

intimidate less determined minds, has had a large share in promoting his advancement. He is of Irish parentage, and was born at Stony Batter, Franklin county, Pa., April 23, 1791. At the age of seven years he removed with his father's family to Mercersburg, and there received an education that fitted him for entering Dickinson college in 1805, where he graduated two years afterwards with the highest honors. He then studied law with James Hopkins, of Lancaster, and in 1812 was admitted to the bar, at which he attained a high rank and commanded an extensive practice.

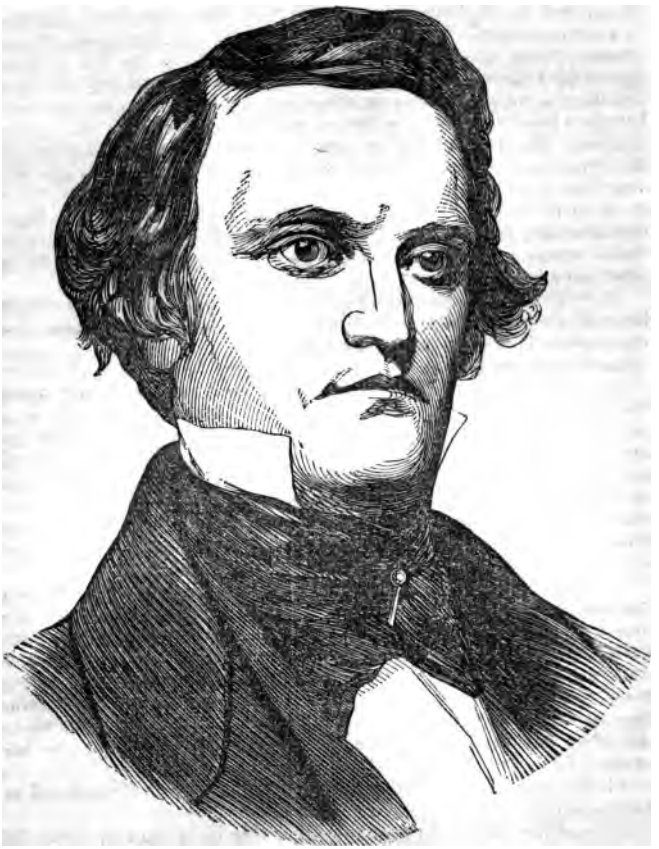
In 1814 he commenced political life as a member of the Pennsylvania state legislature, and in 1820 was sent as representative to Congress, where he remained for ten years—at the expiration of which, he declined a re-nomination.

In 1831 he was appointed minister to Russia by President Jackson, of whom he was always the consistent friend and supporter, and he negotiated a commercial treaty which proved of great advantage to American commerce.

In December, 1834, having been elected to the United States Senate, he took his seat in that body, and continued one of its most efficient members until 1845, when he accepted the office of Secretary of State under Mr. Polk. He held this responsible place until the expiration of Mr. Polk's term of service, when he returned home to repose awhile. But he did not by any means become an idle spectator in passing events: his letters and speeches show that he was no less vigilant as a private citizen, than as a counsellor in the Cabinet, or a representative and senator in Congress.

On the accession of Mr. Pierce to the Presidency, in 1853, Mr. Buchanan was appointed minister to England, with which country questions were then pending that required great prudence and discrimination for their satisfactory adjustment. In his intercourse with the British diplomatists he was not only discreet, but displayed sound sense, courtly forbearance, a just assertion of our rights, and the true dignity of the American character. So entirely unexceptionable was his whole course while abroad, that on his return to this country last April—he landed in New York on the sixty-fifth anniversary of his birth-day—he was received with an almost universal enthusiasm, seldom accorded to political men.

In his letter accepting the nomination of the Democratic Convention, Mr. Buchanan distinctly states "that he no longer regards his position as that of an individual in the approaching campaign; that he has merged all personal identity in that of his party, of which he is but the representative and embodiment.



JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE,

THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

MR. BRECKENRIDGE is a striking evidence of the transmissibility of talent: his grandfather and father both achieved an enviable reputation, which has been well sustained by their descendant, who is yet comparatively a very young man. He was born at Cabellsdale, Fayette county, Ky., January 21, 1821, and was educated at Center college, Danville, Ky., where he graduated with distinction. He then

studied law at the Transylvania University, and after being licensed to practice, settled for some time in Burlington, Iowa; but as his prospects were not quite satisfactory, he returned to his native state, and located himself at Georgetown, where he afterwards married Miss Birch, with whom he not long after removed to Lexington, where he has since resided, enjoying a leading position at the bar.

During the Mexican war he was elected major of the third regiment of Kentucky Volunteers; but as this corps was not mustered into service until late in the campaign, he had no opportunity of "gaining a name in arms." However, as counsel for General Pillow, in those extraordinary prosecutions and counter-prosecutions which were instituted between General Scott and his subordinates, he acquired much popularity for his skill and acuteness.

On returning to Lexington, he was elected to the legislature, where his readiness and ability as a debater gained him many friends, who early predicted his rapid advancement.

In 1851 he was nominated as representative in Congress from the Ashland district, where no democrat had been elected for twenty years previous. His competitor, General Leslie Coombs, well known as a popular legislator and orator, possessed in a high degree the confidence and affections of the whig party, and the contest promised to be a hard one; but such was the superiority of Breckenridge's eloquence, that after they had stumped the district together, as is customary at the west, he was returned by over 600 majority. So well did he acquit himself in this important trust, that he was unanimously re-nominated in 1853, when his opponents determined to defeat him, if possible. They brought forward the Hon. Robert Letcher, a gentleman who had been several years in Congress, and who had also done acceptable service as Governor of the state. The friends of either candidate were indefatigable in the exercise of every species of political tactics, and immense sums of money were lavished upon the election, which resulted in a majority of 520 for Mr. Breckenridge. At the expiration of this term, he again returned to his professional business, in which he has since continued, although offered the flattering appointment of minister to Spain by President Pierce.

In June last he was a delegate to the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, and unexpectedly received the unanimous nomination for the Vice-Presidency. In acknowledging this high mark of favor, he alluded felicitously to the claims of Mr. Buchanan, regarding him "as the last survivor of that noble band of American statesmen and orators whose names are associated with the brightest glories of our country." In conclusion, he said: "The platform you have so unanimously adopted I need not, as a State-rights man, say I cordially approve and endorse. * * * * * * I will therefore conclude by expressing my purpose to devote all my heart and mind to the great duty which has been so unexpectedly conferred upon me, and to strive to justify the confidence you have manifested."

PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

At the Democratic Convention held in Cincinnati in June last, the Committee on Resolutions submitted the following resolutions, which were adopted as the Democratic Platform:

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will, and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general Convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and re-assert before the American people the declarations of principles avowed by them when on former occasions, in general Convention, they have presented their candidates for popular suffrages.

I. That the federal government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

II. That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

III. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several states, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other state purposes, nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

IV. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

V. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual, but certain extinction of the public debt.

VI. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

VII. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety and utility, in all business pursuits.

VIII. That the separation of the monies of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

IX. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

X. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

And WHEREAS, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in National Conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define it relations thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of states having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concernment, and no respect of person in regard to rank or place of birth: no

party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose, the well-considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of Domestic Slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the states:

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor," included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature, in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation now relies, to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union:

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with, and desiring the co-oper-

ation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the states and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the territories; and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion—the American Democracy recognise and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which its great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

2. That this was the basis of the Compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of territories, and to the admission of new states, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the states will be preserved intact—the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate—and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to the utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American state that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognise the right of the people of all the territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other states.

Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilites against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land,) a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every state, and thereby the Union of the states; and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacities of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to

declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to other states of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the states most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for a free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by a spirit of modern times, and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the states within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstance, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the Inter-oceanic Isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort will be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection in the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys, and of the Union at large.

Resolved, That the Democratic party recognises the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication, by military and postal roads through our own territory, between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the federal government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object.

JOHN CHARLES FREMONT,

THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT.

SEVERAL biographies of this accomplished mathematician and indomitable explorer have been issued since he was nominated for the Presidency by the "National People's Convention" at Philadelphia. From these we learn that he is the son of a French gentleman of the same name, who, not long after his arrival in this country, married Mrs. Ann Beverly Whiting, of Gloucester county, Va. The "first fruit" of this union was the subject of this sketch, who was born at Savannah, Ga., January 21, 1813. Five years after this event, when

Mr. Fremont was making arrangements to return to France with his family, he suddenly died, leaving his widow, with two sons and a daughter, but ill provided for in a pecuniary view. "Bowed down, but not discouraged," she gathered her scanty resources together, and settled in Charleston, S. C, where, at the age of thirteen, Charles was taken into the office of John W. Mitchell, Esq., who, actuated by benevolent motives, afterwards had him qualified for the legal profession; but his tastes did not lie in that channel: a thorough knowledge of Mathematics seemed to be the all-absorbing object of his ambition, and his devoted application to this science was unquestionably the means of his success in after-life.

He entered the naval service in 1833 as a professor of mathematics; but not long afterwards was transferred to the corps of topographical engineers, with the rank of second lieutenant. In conjunction with the late Captain Williams, he was engaged in several important national surveys, which led to his being afterwards associated with Mr. Nicholet, of St. Louis, in the exploration and survey of the vast region north of the Missouri and west of the Mississippi.

After returning to Washington city, and while engaged in preparing his report and maps of this last survey, he became acquainted with Miss Jessie Benton, daughter of the distinguished senator, to whom he was married in 1841.

In May, 1842, he set out on the first of his three great exploring expeditions, the developments of which have been of incalculable importance, not only to this country, but to the whole civilized world. This resulted in a thorough exploration of the famous South Pass across the Rocky Mountains, on the highest peak of which the American flag was planted for the first time; the second, in 1843, furnished accurate information regarding the Great Salt Lake, the great interior basin of Utah, the mountain range of the Sierra Nevada, and the golden regions of California; and the third, in 1845, among other advantages, secured the possession of the last-named territory, of which Col. Fremont became, in 1846, the first governor and military commander, and was subsequently elected the first United States senator after its admission as a state.

In 1848 a court-martial having found him technically guilty of some frivolous charges preferred by Gen. Kearney, he persisted in relinquishing his military position, notwithstanding President Polk offered him a new commission of the same grade. But this did not dampen his spirit of adventure: Relying upon his own means and the aid of friends, he has since been as zealously engaged as ever in bringing to light the hidden resources of our comparatively inaccessible regions.

It cannot be expected that all the events of so eventful a career should be embodied in our limited space, nor is it necessary; for every one who is desirous of becoming familiar with the minutiæ of his history can be readily gratified by consulting any of the numerous biographies with which the book market is flooded.

WILLIAM L. DAYTON,

THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

ALTHOUGH this gentleman has hardly numbered fifty summers, he has long enjoyed the reputation of being a learned and skillful lawyer, an upright and intelligent judge, and a sagacious and accomplished senator. He has gained an extensive popularity in his native state

(New Jersey) by the creditable manner in which he filled several important offices, in all which were displayed not only talents of the highest order, but also business habits that are of vast consequence to those who are anxious to serve the public faithfully.

On the death of that eminent statesman, Samuel L. Southard, in 1842, Mr. Dayton was appointed by the Governor to succeed him in the United States Senate; and so ably did he fill the place left vacant by his illustrious predecessor, that he was continued therein by election of the legislature until 1851. His zealous opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law subjected him to several severe encounters with the friends of that measure, in all of which his eloquence and argumentative powers shone conspicuously.

After his nomination for the Vice-Presidency by the "National People's Convention," a committee was appointed to wait upon him, whom he met at Trenton. The chairman briefly apprised him of the proceedings of the Convention, and recapitulated the leading features of the platform which had been adopted. Mr. Dayton, in reply, took occasion to define his position on the most important issues involved in the present political struggle, and said, in substance, that the honor conferred upon him was utterly unexpected; that he felt and duly appreciated it, not on his own account only, but on behalf of his state; that for the last few years, though engaged in the avocations of private life, he had not been an inattentive observer of the course of events; that he could say, with emphasis, that his principles were not changed: he stood now, in reference to the great leading issues of the country, as in times past. After expressing his heartfelt sympathy for Kansas, he alluded to the subject of internal improvements as follows: "The admission of California into the Union as a state—her unprecedented growth—seem now to demand increased facility of communication. A roadway from the West to the *Far West* will be a ligament binding to the Union both extremes: it will tend to consolidate more firmly the lasting Union of the states—a Union such as our fathers made, based upon equality of rights. It will tend, too, to increase the interior commerce of the country, and to develop still more largely the resources of that magnificent state upon our western borders. The improvements of rivers and harbors are specially appropriated by the Constitution to the general government; and whether our commerce floats upon our coasts, our rivers, or our lakes, it is due to the lives of our citizens, as well as their property, that the government should provide for their safety. He trusted that the people would lay aside all minor differences, and come up manfully to the work—yielding to one another freedom of speech and equality of rights; but claiming—nay, exacting—the same for ourselves."

PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our federal government were, to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association, or individuals, to give legal assistance to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established in order to establish a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them—their territory has been invaded by an armed force—spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced—the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed—test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office—the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied—the right of the people to be secure in their houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated—they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law—that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged—the right to choose their repre

sentatives has been made of no effect—murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished—that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyments of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a Railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practical route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however different from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens who oppose all legislation impairing their security.

THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

CONSISTS of a Senate and House of Representatives, and must assemble at least once every year, on the first Monday of December, unless otherwise provided by law.

The Vice-President of the United States is *ex officio* President of the Senate, and has a casting vote in case of an equal division. In his absence, a President *pro tem.* is chosen from among the members.

The Senate comprises two members from each state, (now numbering of course 62,) who are chosen by the state legislatures for the term of six years—one-third biennially.

The members of the House of Representatives (limited by law to the number of 233) are elected by the people for the term of two years, and are apportioned among the different states, according to population, in the following manner: After each decennial enumeration, the aggregate representative population of the United States is ascertained by the Secretary of the Interior, by adding to the whole number of free persons in all the states, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. This aggregate is divided by 233, and the quotient, rejecting fractions, if any, is the rates of apportionment. The representative population of each state is then ascertained in the same manner, and is divided by the above-named ratio, the quotient giving the apportionment of representatives to each state. The loss by fractions is compensated for by assigning to as many states having the largest fractions as may be necessary to make the whole number of representatives 233, one additional member each for its fraction. If, after the apportionment, new states are admitted, representatives are assigned to such states on the above basis, in addition to the limited number of 233; but such excess continues only until the next apportionment under the succeeding census. When the apportionment is completed, the Secretary sends a certificate thereof to the House of Representatives, and to the Governors of the states a certificate of the number apportioned to each state.

The present number of representatives is 234, an additional one being assigned to California by the act of July 30, 1852. There are, besides, seven delegates—one each from Oregon, Minnesota, Utah, New Mexico, Washington, Kansas, and Nebraska—who have a right to speak, but no vote.

Since the 4th of March, 1817, the compensation of senators and representatives has been $8 a-day duringthe period of attendance in Congress, without deduction in case of sickness; and $8 for every twenty miles' travel, in the usual road, in going to or returning from the seat of government. The President of the Senate, *pro tem.* and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, each receive double this sum. At the first session of the Thirty-Fourth Congress, however, an act was passed, fixing the pay of members at $3,000 per annum, but the rates of mileage were left undisturbed.

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